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Council of Europe Proposes Hungary's Inclusion

LD1009203990 Budapest MTI in English 1952 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, September 10 (MTI)—The Political Committee of the Council of Europe held a session on Monday [10 September] in Warsaw. It unanimously decided to propose to the committee of ministers to invite Hungary into the Council of Europe, and to ensure seven places to Hungary in the European Parliament.

Tamas Katona, political secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, who headed the Hungarian delegation to the conference, in a statement given to MTI's Warsaw correspondent termed the step taken by the Political Committee of the Council of Europe to be of major importance from the point of view of Hungary's coming abreast of Europe.

Ronald Reagan To Visit GDR, Poland, USSR

LD0309174190 Warsaw PAP in English 1554 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 3—Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan and his wife will pay a short visit to Poland in mid-September. The Polish visit will be a part of Reagan's European trip during which he will meet with leading political personalities.

Ronald Reagan is expected to address the Polish parliament. He will meet with President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. In Gdansk he will held a meeting with shipyard workers and Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa.

Ronald Reagan will start his European trip with a visit to Berlin. Next, he will come to Warsaw. Then he will go to the Soviet Union at the invitation from Soviet President Mikhail Grobachev.

Calfa Addresses World Economic Forum

LD0609222290 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Prague, 6 Sep (CTK)—Founder and President of the World Economic Forum Klaus Schwab said here today opening the forum's two-day regional session that the participation of such a big number of representatives of prominent foreign enterprises and financial institutions evidences confidence in the positive development of Czechoslovakia's economy on the road towards a market economy.

Addressing the meeting, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said that during his stay in Davos earlier this year, he fully realized the importance and role of the World Economic Forum for mutual knowledge, understanding of standpoints and establishing of constructive contacts, and welcomed the opportunity to discuss with foreign experts Czechoslovakia's economic reform and prospects of the country's economic relations with foreign countries.

Premier Calfa said that Czechoslovakia wants to convince foreign partners of the feasibility of its economic concept and intentions, and to win their confidence necessary for joint enterprise, direct foreign investments, advantageous credits, and economic and technological assistance.

Some results of neighbouring countries in transition to a market economy are disquieting. That is why Czechoslovakia is trying to avoid a three-digit inflation, deep decline in production, growth in indebtedness and a high rate of unemployment. Czechoslovakia's goal is building a socially and ecologically oriented market economy, the premier said.

Referring to the radical economic reform which has now been given the green light, Calfa said that it means quick and unequivocal orientation at a market economy without seeking a third way.

The Czechoslovak premier assured the participants that his country is trying by all means to guarantee certainties for its potential foreign partners and investors.

He informed the Forum that Czechoslovakia will soon be granted membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and will thus become a full-fledged member of the international economic community.

On the regional level, Czechoslovakia wants to have closer ties with the European Communities, to cooperate more tightly within the Central European subregion, and to develop its economic relations with the states of the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (CMEA) on new bases, including payments in free currency, Premier Calfa said.

East European, Soviet Press Agencies Meet

LD1209151790 Prague CTK in English 1249 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Rabstejn, West Bohemia, Sept 12 (CTK)—Representatives of the East European agencies ADN, BTA, CTK, MTI, PAP, ROMPRESS and TASS held talks on regional cooperation at Rabstejn Nad Strelou, West Bohemia September 10-12.

The meeting was attended by the president and the general secretary of the European Alliance of Press Agencies, Wolfgang Vyslozil of Austria and Arrigo Aconero of Italy, as observers. The GDR, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Soviet agencies are members of this organization.

The participants exchanged information on the changes which have taken place in their countries and on the work of their agencies in the new conditions. They agreed that their cooperation must be based on new concepts free from former political and ideological aspects. The participants called for professional cooperation.

Regular meetings between leading officials of the agencies are expected at least once a year. This cooperation should have a regional character. Meetings held within its framework will be opened to other press agencies of Central and Eastern Europe.

Council of Ministers To Increase Low Wages

AU1109185590 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Announcement by the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania:

The Council of Ministers, implementing the decisions made by the 11th party Central Committee plenum, has examined and approved a report on increasing low wages, which reviews existing wage rates and provides for a series of measures and regulations in this field. The Council of Ministers has decided:

1. All wages below 450 leks per month will be increased by 20 percent.

2. Wages of between 450 leks and 550 leks per month will be increased by 10 percent.

3. In order to maintain the necessary relations between different jobs and work processes, and between the different qualifications of working people, changes will also be made in order to increase wages below 600 leks.

4. Category one jobs and work processes will be made equal to category two jobs and will be paid the same as the latter.

A total of 450,000 working people in various branches of the economy and 162,000 agricultural workers will benefit from these improvements, and the annual funds for wages will rise by about 430 million leks per year. From now on, the minimum nominal wage rate will rise from 350 leks to 450 leks, while a worker's average monthly wage will rise from 523 leks to about 570 leks.

The decision of the Council of Ministers will be published and dated 1 September 1990. [as heard] The Council of Ministers, [words indistinct] central ministries, and executive committees of Peoples Councils in the districts will take the necessary measures for the full implementation of this decision. At the same time, the Council of Ministers expresses the conviction that our workers class and all working people will be (?inspired) by the measures to further raise their mobilization in labor and to their spirit of initiative in order to increase production and services, raise labor productivity, and tighten the savings regimen. [sentence indistinct]

The Council of Ministers of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Tirana, 11 September 1990.

Editorial on Democratization of Life

AU1209114290 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No. 8 Aug 90 pp 5-10

[Editorial: "The Democratization of Life—A Force Carrying the Economy and Albanian Culture and Civilization Forward"]

[Text] The 11th Central Committee plenum and the its decisions have made people more interested in all the problems facing society. There is a perceptible invigoration of the masses' sociopolitical thinking and a visible growth of their creative role. The main preoccupations of the party and state have also become those of the people. Collectives have been made the ultimate authority for a range of rights and decisions.

Democratic developments among us have been harmoniously planned, and have been extended time and again. If we may say that the party plenums have been, and are, a continuation of each other, this shows the continuity of the road we are following. The ninth, 10th, and 11th plenums crowned many years of careful work on the part of the party and the people's state for the development of the material life of society and of people's individualities. The platform for democratic changes in cadre policy, for instance, was outlined at Comrade Ramiz Alia's meeting with Vlore cadres.

Since the country's liberation, working people with their demands, needs, and rights as citizens of this country have been the focus of the policies pursued by the party. In realizing people's rights, the party has followed a sequence of studied and measured priorities in accordance with their level of material and cultural development, the degree of maturity of democratic institutions, and the traditions inherited in this field.

Citizens' rights are a relative concept conditioned by many factors. However, the principle factor is the freedom and independence of the homeland. People cannot be free in the shackles of foreign slavery, whether this slavery is enforced by weapons and armies, or debts and concessions.

In our country, the realization of citizens' freedoms began with the rights that are the foundation of all further rights and freedoms granted by law. The new state that emerged from the war guaranteed the masses the freedom to live by their labor, to be remunerated according to their services and merits without the burden of oppression and exploitation; it guaranteed personal security, work, and free education and hospital treatment without taxes. If the rights of the individual express the relations between a person and the law and his defense from injustice and arbitrariness, this doubtless has been and remains a citizen's most secure protection.

It is well known that human freedoms have another aspect, known as their "universal aspect." The recently approved laws serve to strengthen precisely this aspect, creating conditions for a broader development of the masses' thinking and awareness. Even before, the necessary importance was attached to these rights. It is worth stressing that, in the first document of the people's state, "The Declaration of Citizens' Rights" approved at the historic Meeting of Berat, the provisional democratic government committed itself to meeting such rights, such as the right to "complain against the decisions of state organs and to appeal against them," and to ensure "a life irreconcilable with the modern conception of social life and human dignity," etc. [sentence as published]

If these rights are now being extended, this means that opportunities and conditions for such a step have been created. It would have been meaningless and socially useless to start guaranteeing human rights in a different order, and still more useless to do so back to front.

At the most recent meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about the need for a pluralist treatment of the problems preoccupying society. In this sense, no idea which stems from the national and social ideals of our people can be alien or valueless for the party. No social organization can remain idle and fail to give direct and wide expression to the people's political will.

The recent decisions of the People's Assembly and the subsequent 11th party Central Committee plenum in the field of legislation express a new and more advanced and democratic relationship between citizens and the state. The changes embodied in law are the leading edge of a task in progress which will of course demand new steps forward. Alongside the implementation of the new laws, therefore, there is a need to carry out further work on people's judicial thinking, education, and awareness.

Albanians are an optimistic people; they have always looked ahead. This is more necessary than ever now, on the threshold of the turn of the century. The party organization, as it leads the new democratic process which it has begun, must know how to reply to and to involve not only militant people but even those individuals who are hampered by or wish to copy the world's cliches.

Democracy is a quality of our social order and an initiative of the party. In the former socialist countries, the parties in power were unable to master this great slogan. The historical initiative, therefore, passed into other hands. In our case, however, the Albanian Workers Party is abreast of the situation and leading the initiative. This is one of its historic merits. Only the party can lead this great process through to the end.

Democracy and the level of its development depend on a range of factors: the social system, people and their awareness, democratic culture and institutions, the level of development of productive forces, the intensity of the class war, and so forth. Democracy is valid to the extent that these conditions exist—i.e., to the extent that it is deserved. This is determined by the character of the social system, but also depends greatly on the level of production and the possibilities of society to meet people's demands. Literally, democracy means the rule of the people and the role, line, and self-activation of the masses. In our case, this is a living reality, because the people are an all-powerful master. It is well known, however, that some restrictions exist in comparison with our ideal of the future. These are inevitable for the moment. In the future, however, the scope of these restrictions will be narrowed as freedoms expand.

Democratic processes in our country, although they have been taking place for a relatively long time, are still in their initial stages. The road to be covered is long and demands work and energy from everybody. It demands a dynamic invigoration of social thinking and a new conception of the party's work. In this work, everyone must master the manners, culture, and ethics of debate and dialogue. There is no authority but argument in democratic debate. The debating table is a judge of people's minds, abilities, interests, and characters.

Democracy has its opposite, which is bureaucracy. Bureaucracy among us has always been combated; however, it crops up again in more subtle forms. This has happened because bureaucracy has often been combated by bureaucratic methods, with instructions, decrees, and memoranda. The way to combat bureaucracy is to give authority to the masses, making them genuine wielders of power and open decisionmaking organizations. In this context, the recent Central Committee plenums prescribed a range of other measures which have been welcomed everywhere and which have raised the masses' political consciousness and their readiness for work.

During fast democratic developments, elected bodies become more aware of their role and acquire greater weight in the country's entire life. The party must fully exploit this situation in order to increase the role of district plenums and all the districts' leading forums at the center and the base.

In particular, the democratic processes of the 11th plenum also deeply involve another field, that of education and culture. The new educational reform was discussed at length on the platforms of public discussion and in the plenum's examination of these problems. In fact, the proposed changes affect the principal problems of the curriculum: learning motivation, ideoscientific character formation, and so forth. These changes are analogous to those taken in the economy, and are of a long-term nature. Their essence is the introduction of a single schooling system open to all and compulsory to the 10th grade.

The essence of the guidelines of the recent plenums is replacing commands, instructions, and administrative methods with logical and rational methods which depend on the internal laws of the relevant field. Education has inherited many methods based on orders.

The party has long said that the current main problem in schools is quality; however, quality means selection. One cannot talk about real selection at any level of education today. Eight-grade elementary school is compulsory: 100 percent enroll, and 98.8 percent complete their schooling (1.2 percent fail to do so because of age). Of these, 73.3 percent continue to secondary school, and five to seven percent fail to graduate—again, a very small proportion. Failures (a form of selection) in colleges are also very few, about 2-3 percent. Even where one can speak of selection at certain levels, it is carried out by administrative methods, such as in the transition from secondary school to college. Discussion should aim to decide how

we will be able to replace administrative selection carried out at only one stage of education with a more principled and scientific form of selection.

Bearing in mind these facts, the 11th party Central Committee plenum indicated that the intake of pupils who have completed their secondary education into colleges should be expanded alongside the general expansion of the mass character of education, as a sign of democracy, also raising the standards demanded by schools.

The public discussion of school problems, which has been taking place since the start of the year, has prepared public opinion for the necessity of democratic changes in this field. Since 1968, a range of issues has emerged and been assembled which concern various aspects of educational policy and its priorities and emphases, and which has made the relevant party decisions necessary.

As in the initial phase, so today must schools and education be incorporated as a whole in the cycle of general measures the party has taken for the democratization of the country's life. The spirit of socialist democracy must pervade its structure and content. Meanwhile, the implementation of the decisions of these plenums in education, as a specific field of social life, is not an easy matter.

The most important measure is in raising the level of compulsory education from the eighth to the 10th grade. This is accompanied by certain structural changes in the educational cycle and schedule. A practical benefit of this measure is the changeover from cyclical to linear curricula in the educational process, which gives schools the opportunity to save time, eliminate repetition, and guarantee continuity and a more constructive and consolidated form of teaching. Comprehensive 10-grade education also provides the opportunity to exploit on a large scale the most solid educational experience that the country possesses, that of the general secondary schools. This will ensure a more harmonious relationship between general culture and vocational training.

The decisions of the 11th plenum are based on life. The party has synthesized in them the creative thinking of working people, who have, therefore, welcomed them with satisfaction. The 11th Central Committee plenum set the seal on their political will. With this plenum, the party defined tactics and standpoints which will ensure success even in the most complicated international situations.

The massive and enthusiastic approval given to the party and state decisions by the masses of the people stems from the fact that these decisions do not relate merely to the present, but indicate clear prospects for the future. The thorough revolutionization and further democratization of the country's life are a guarantee for stable development today and are a force which will carry the economy and Albanian culture and civilization forward.

These current developments share common ground with advanced contemporary trends. The prospects which the party has indicate will stimulate people to useful work; they raise the optimism of society and ease the burdens on society. They show the strength of the party and the power of the people and indicate clear prospects to the country.

Carcani Speech on Battle of Vlore Anniversary

AU1109074390 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Sep 90 pp 1-2

["Speech at Dinner by Comrade Adil Carcani," AWP Central Committee Politburo member, at a commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Vlore at Vlore on 1 September]

[Text] Dear comrades, today the people of Vlore and all Albania are marking a great event in our national history, the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Vlore. The epic act of heroism undertaken in 1920 against the Italian imperialist invaders here in Vlore—this city with glorious patriotic traditions where the flag of independence was raised—as well as the battles that took place in Diber and Koplik against the Serbian and Montenegrin chauvinist forces, was a continuation of the people's relentless struggle against the many enemies who wished to destroy Albania and obliterate the Albanian people as a nation.

The people's struggle at Vlore confirmed to the entire world public that the Albanians were determined to defend at any price their ancient territories and the freedom and independence they had won with blood and innumerable sacrifices. Patriotism, an indomitable freedom-loving spirit, a lofty sense of sacrifice and self-denial, and the powerful unity of all the people in the cause of national independence and sovereignty were and remain the people's most powerful weapons against their enemies, however great and powerful they may be.

This important battle, alongside the National Liberation War and all our glorious history, represents for us a rallying cry to carry on our patriotic and militant traditions and to defend the freedom and independence of our dear homeland, and the socialist victories we have achieved through colossal labor and efforts in the last 46 years under the leadership of the party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in order to make Albania prosper and flourish and to make the life of the people a better one.

We are celebrating this notable anniversary in a healthy political situation, amidst the enthusiasm and revolutionary zeal that has engulfed the entire working masses to bring to life the historic decisions of the party Central Committee plenums and Comrade Ramiz Alia's perpetual instructions. No one dictated to us the decisions which we made; they are a result of the development of our socialist order. Genuine democracy and the country's progress can only be achieved by our people united round the party, which, in its line and program, thinks and acts only for the good of the people and for the country's inexorable development. The implementation of the party's programs for the country's further revolutionization and democratization, for developing and strengthening the economy, and for improving supplies to the people and the people's general prosperity require today labor, vigilance, initiative, creative thinking,

determination and strong discipline at work, and a spirit of militancy on the party of every communist and patriotic citizen of our socialist homeland. It must be clear to everyone that the implementation of this program is tied to the socialist victories we won with blood and sweat, and to the present and future of the homeland and its freedom and independence.

The party is fully confident that the patriotic working people of Vlore District, like the entire people, will mobilize all their energy and strength in order to implement the historic decisions of the party Central Committee plenums, so that Albania will inexorably progress on the brilliant road of socialism on which the glorious party leads us and on the road of the further democratization of the country's entire life, a road which has served and will serve the progress of our dear socialist homeland.

Allow me now to propose a toast:

To our heroic, patriotic, and industrious people; raised, taught, and tempered in the noble sentiments of love for the homeland through centuries of war and struggle; to the glory of the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Vlore and its brave warriors; to the people of our heroic Vlore; to our glorious party led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, which leads us toward new victories with wisdom and courage. To the health of everyone here today!

'Chauvinist Calls' of Greek Official Viewed

AU1109123090 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Sep 90 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "Chauvinist Calls Which Damage Greek-Albanian Relations"]

[Text] The Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' protest note against chauvinist and anti-Albanian activities in Greece appeared in our press yesterday. The reason for this was a so-called pan-Greek academic congress on Vorioipiros [Northern Epirus, part of Albania], which raised a new campaign of threats and outright territorial claims against our country. It is not the first time that chauvinist clerical circles, led by Metropolitan Sebastianos, have launched a campaign of hostile and provocative activities against Albania and the Albanian people. Sebastianos called for "next year's pan-Epirote congress to be held in Korce or Gjirokaster." Furthermore, according to the newspaper ETNOS, he "praised the Greek Government's recent steps to transfer military units and the Greek fleet to the Albanian border." These chauvinist calls were followed by provocative demonstrations and irresponsible behavior in the area of the border with Albania.

Such absurd pretensions would be beneath consideration, but one cannot remain silent when even high-level Greek Government personalities become protagonists in these campaigns. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice Kanellopoulos, who took part in this congress and greeted it in the name of the government, issued open calls in his speech for "a review of Europe's geographical map," involving territorial claims to what is called Vorioipiros. Even the prime minister and other ministers encouraged the chauvinist spirit of the Vorioipirote circles against our country in their messages sent to the congress. It is well known that the reactionary Greek despots are prone to daydreaming, but when their daydreams are embodied in the statements of high officials, it means that we are faced with policies that seriously damage our good-neighborly relations.

Chauvinist calls for "a review of borders" are in open conflict with the interests and spirit of the bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and peoples. What our two peoples want is friendship, peace on the borders, exchanges of mutual benefit, and mutual understanding and trust. Our country has been incessantly striving and continues to strive to achieve these things with tangible steps. Realistic political circles in Greece are aware of this, and have always striven to point relations between our countries in a positive direction. It is truly amazing that Mr. Kanellopoulos, when he visited our country a few years ago—at a time when he was also a minister and a member of the government—spoke about the need for friendship between our two peoples and the development of our bilateral relations, while he now not only supports but becomes a spokesman for anti-Albanian views and activities. No political, electoral, personal, or party logic can excuse such hostile behavior and attitudes toward a neighboring country and people.

They are also in opposition to the spirit of Balkan cooperation and understanding. Even without these chauvinist calls and claims, our peninsula has plenty of serious and intractable problems. It is very easy to start a quarrel, but extremely difficult to settle it later. An ancient Greek legend about Hercules says that when he became involved in a quarrel, it doubled in size and became an impassable obstacle. The message of this legend is that people and states must make all efforts to settle quarrels, and not to artificially create other problems.

These territorial claims and other anti-Albanian activities are in conflict with the Helsinki charter and the spirit of European security and cooperation. They are in opposition to contemporary tendencies to democratize international relations and to strengthen international cooperation to the benefit of peace and stability in the world's various regions and in international relations of all kinds.

The Albanian people are in favor of friendship with the Greek people, just as the Greek people also favor such friendship. Those who genuinely wish the Albanian and Greek peoples well and desire good-neighborliness must not permit such activities which damage the relations between our two peoples, who have always lived in peace and friendship and have never been at war with each other.

Lukanov Rejects 'Traditional Coalition' Concept

AU0709140290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Sep 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov by CTK correspondent Vera Ivanovicova; place and date not given: "Diversity of Trends and Forces"]

[Text] In Bulgaria today only a government with the broad support of society and the forces represented in the parliament can be successful. Frankly, given the present situation, neither the Bulgarian Socialist Party, nor the opposition can deal independently with Bulgaria's problems, particularly with the economic reform and overcoming the economic crisis. Andrey Lukanov, the previous prime minister of Bulgaria, who on Thursday [30 August] was entrusted with forming the new Council of Ministers, made this statement in an interview with a CTK correspondent.

He added that if a consensus is reached in parliament regarding its main tasks, it should not be difficult to agree on such a composition of the government as will reflect the diversity of political trends and forces. The condition of professionalism and competence of its members, however, must necessarily be satisfied.

He said that these conditions are very demanding and, therefore, he does not think that he has a chance of 100-percent success. Precisely because of this, on Thursday he asked the parliament that it does not elect a prime minister today but rather entrust him with forming the new cabinet. He intends to begin consultations with the leaders of the main political forces on the composition of the new cabinet on Friday.

Further, A. Lukanov stated that he understands the objections raised by the opposition against the coalition government. He added that the traditional coalition is not the optimal one in the current situation, particularly as in today's Bulgaria one can hardly speak of the opposition and the ruling party. The Union of Democratic Forces is no longer an opposition in the true sense of the word because the president was selected from its ranks. The Bulgarian Socialist Party then gave up its power monopoly so it is not the government party in the sense understood up to now. Today, it is more like a partnership of both main, and of other political forces for the purpose of dealing with the tasks and achieving the goals which are, during this stage, universal for all parties.

The prime minister surmises that there is no time to lose in forming the new government and, therefore, he will attempt to inform the parliament regarding the outcome of the consultations by the end of next week at the latest.

He already has some idea of the composition of the government and now he will try to realize it. He believes that both in and outside parliament there are enough suitable people and, according to him, if one tries just a little bit, an authoritative and strong government can be achieved. He pointed out that the situation in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, where two and one half months after the elections the country is without a government, is unmatched in Eastern Europe. This, he contends, does not help the country's international prestige. On the other hand, he admitted, that this tortuous progress toward the new cabinet could contribute to its health and stability.

The new government should be renewed to the extent of approximately one-half, while the number of ministers should not differ greatly. Some structures, however—for instance, a substantial part of the committees—will be eliminated. A ministry should be the main structural unit. Fundamental changes, however, will occur only in their functions because they will operate under entirely new conditions of the transition to the market economy, Andrey Lukanov stated.

Government Discusses Draft Laws, IMF Membership

AU1209184590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Today the government discussed important social issues. They included increasing the efficiency of the struggle against speculation and smuggling, protecting the interests of the pensioners and unemployed, and other matters. A number of draft laws, which will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly in the near future after appropriate corrections are made, were also discussed.

The Council of Ministers expressed the categorical opinion that immediate and efficient measures must be adopted against all manifestations of speculation, illegal profit, concealment of goods, irregular trade, smuggling, and other similar manifestations. For this purpose a draft law was discussed on adopting special measures related to the struggle against speculation, corruption, and smuggling. It envisages significant fines as an administrative and punitive sanction, which will be immediately collected. The violations which represent a crime will be punished according to the Penal Code.

The Council adopted proposals on amendments and addenda to the Penal Code, the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties, and the Decree on Regulating Domestic Trade. Along with the other penalties it was envisaged to introduce measures such as the confiscation by the state of goods involved in violations, as well as denying the right to exercise certain professions. The proposed amendments and addenda of the Penal Code also involve a significant increase in fines. [passage omitted]

The government devoted special attention to updating pensions by increasing them. A draft law on updating certain pensions was discussed in detail and a modified draft law on updating pensions and on amendments and addenda to the Law on Pensions was adopted. [passage omitted]

The government also reviewed a draft law on creating conditions for the practical indexation of the population's revenues. It envisages the indexation of wages and pensions. [passage omitted]

The government also discussed a new draft of the Law on the Police. It poses new requirements which correspond to the radically democratic changes in our country, and deals with the legal regulation of the structure, place, and role of the police organs in society and their rights, obligations, and responsibilities. This draft fully corresponds to the Human Rights Declaration, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Madrid and Vienna Accords, and conforms with similar laws of democratic countries. [passage omitted]

One of the new functions of the police organs is related to protecting order during mass political rallies and measures against group violations of public order. In this context the draft corresponds to the regulations of the Law on Rallies and Meetings.

The government also adopted a decree on Bulgaria's membership in the IMF, the World Bank, and its organizations.

SDS' Koshlukov Details Arson, BSP Relations

AU1209162090 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 6 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Emil Koshlukov, Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) Coordinating Council member, by Aleksandur Danov and Vikhur Krustev; place and date not given: "The Death of the Nomenklatura Is Too Slow"]

[Excerpts] [DEMOKRATSIYA] Mr. Koshlukov, you were a witness of the events in Sofia's center during the night of 26-27 August 1990. The Grand National Assembly described this event as a political crime. What can you, as an eyewitness and member of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Coordinating Council, tell us?

[Koshlukov] I arrived in the square rather late, after midnight and after the start and the climax of the event. Everything had already happened. The windows were on fire and the building was burning outside and inside. People were breaking down the doors.

Two unknown boys told me that, as soon as they entered the building at the very beginning, they were stopped and mistreated by masked individuals and civilians.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Are you inclined to accept their statements as reliable?

[Koshlukov] They expressed their firm resolve to confirm their statements and were ready to give their names and addresses. They showed me the approximate place where they had been stopped, and they revealed a very interesting fact—namely, that in the places where they were detained, their civilian torturers set fire to sheets of paper, throwing them all over the rooms before their own eyes.

The trial which is expected to take place sooner or later will be a political, and not a criminal one, and we should pay special attention to it. I even doubt whether it is justified to let our notorious "supra-party" prosecuting organs deal with the case. The only correct method of investigation would be to appoint a public-parliamentary commission. [passage omitted]

[DEMOKRATSIYA] It is evident that the investigation and several parallel public investigation commissions which were already established are expected to come across numerous mysteries and enigmas in connection with the arson. Do you have any explanation for the incident?

[Koshlukov] It is quite early for a thorough analysis of the events of that night and of the sociopolitical processes preceding them. I will try to examine the political aspects of the incident. According to a traditional legal principle, all investigations should start with the following question: Who benefits from the crime?

It can be categorically stated that the SDS does not benefit from this act. In the first place because its growing popularity, instead of further growing, has considerably dropped as a result of the events. It is already visible how the communists' vicious propaganda unscrupulously slanders the opposition. No normal SDS member, or sympathizer, would dare to cause such serious harm to the opposition.

The event itself and the emotions and commentaries evolving around it, are likely to redirect the people's dissatisfaction from uncontrolled price increases, shortage of goods, standing in line, poverty, and the unfulfilled promises of the victorious party to other issues. This is an old and tested method—at critical moments—to direct the people's anger and protest against the "enemy," the saboteur.

What is the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] losing in the meantime? Nothing. The money it has robbed from the people is sufficient to build 17 such party headquarters, each of them grander and more luxurious than the one that burned down. The material losses for the BSP leaders are minimal and do not affect their Swiss bank accounts, while their political advantages are tremendous.

The investigation will provide a definite answer, although the SDS will unfortunately be deprived of the opportunity to fully participate in the official investigation to illuminate the facts and cope with the unleashed hysteria. It is my personal conviction, which does not commit the SDS, that the arson was committed by the most reactionary and irreconcilable circles within the Communist Party.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Why have accusations emerged against you?

[Koshlukov] Let us go back to the last election campaign television programs of the SDS and BSP, nearly three months ago. I said a few things in our program which might have sounded innocuous and rather vague to the general public and the normal viewer, but for certain circles my remarks were certainly significant and alarming. [passage omitted]

For this precise reason, I can explain the violent attacks addressed against me in connection with the arson of the

party headquarters. Dozens of SDS deputies and leaders were on the spot and witnessed the fire. However, I was incriminated as one of the most dangerous arsonists and the intention of setting fire to the DUMA headquarters was attributed to me. Naturally, I asked myself: Do I really represent such a serious threat for the 100-year-old party, that it devotes so much attention to me? Hardly. The conclusion is that the facts which I mentioned on television are really very important to those gentlemen communists. This is why they are so eager to disgrace me and play down the truth of the information. A man who has been slandered is considered unreliable.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] You claim that sinister forces exist in our society which do not openly appear in our sociopolitical life, which are neither seen on television, nor heard on the radio, but which pursue goals different from those which the official political forces announce in their platforms.

[Koshlukov] Yes, indeed. I hope that I will soon be able to disclose the facts and reveal the names of people who can confirm this. In my opinion, this is an extremely dangerous game and even some SDS leaders, who were subject to repressive measures and who have been in prison, do not realize this. In the concentration camps, they were confronted with gendarmes and watchdogs, but they never met the invisible and sophisticated power of professional secret services who are capable of anything and whose motives are not always transparent.

The present political leaders of the opposition have never worked under the circumstances of highly professional conspiracy. I am informed that for the time being, some of the former secret service men are going into deep cover, seeking employment in other departments, while a special instruction has been issued to prevent the SDS from getting real access to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

It is known that President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev recommended some figures from the opposition to be employed in state institutions, such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which is not a political institution. However, I am in the possession of data proving the existence of a secret instruction that the Ministry of Internal Affairs departments should be restructured in a manner to guarantee that people from the opposition should be prevented from actively participating in the ministry's operations. They can have posts, but will have neither information nor power. Similar processes can be observed also going on undercover in the [Ministry of] Foreign Affairs.

I am afraid that something which the Sandinists in Nicaragua tried, but did not fully accomplish, is under preparation: Former communists, who call themselves socialists today, and future capitalists will infiltrate the powerful system of government, not through political, but through conspiratorial and economic channels. Neither the SDS nor the BSP will win the future elections; they will be bought by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], because the BCP apparatus will infiltrate institutions which no one suspects.

Some people may find such statements sinister, malicious, or even unfounded. For understandable reasons, I cannot cite the names of people capable of confirming this or fully reveal such facts at this point. [passage omitted]

[DEMOKRATSIYA] If we assume that the services and institutions you are talking about are reacting quite normally with their self-preservation instinct, do you presume that they are sufficiently independent and powerful to resolve such important questions without any interference, or help?

[Koshlukov] You should not believe that our country has remained without Soviet advice. I claim that the Soviet advisers have not left, they just changed their headquarters.

I am not talking only about official and former services. Of course, the public is unaware of the fact that retired generals and Ministry of Internal Affairs and State Security employees were recently convened to a meeting, where they were assigned special tasks which are unknown for the time being.

I realize how dangerous all these revelations are. I realize that this can become very costly for me. On the other hand, it is an insurance, because if something happens to me after this interview, people will know the reasons. People have seriously warned me that if they do not dare or succeed in dealing with me here, in our country, they also have the means to find me in the United States, where I am soon going for postgraduate studies. It will not be difficult for a drunken negro to start a fight with me in front of my dwelling. It will appear to be an unfortunate accident. Such accidents are by no means unusual.

There is always a risk involved. However, we have engaged in a serious matter and we must be firm to the end. It is the right time to reveal the truth today, because in a year, or two, it will be irrevocably late. The danger is tremendous. An invisible and vague, but terrifying danger is emerging. It is even more terrifying than the totalitarian regime of the past, which was overt and had its well-known exponents. We are now dealing with a clandestine phenomenon. [passage omitted]

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Is the goal of the BSP's attack directed against the SDS, as a whole, or only against the Podkrepa Labor Federation, which is part of it?

[Koshlukov] There is no difference. The Communist Party cannot crush the whole opposition, which has grown quite strong, at once. It will try to do it in bits and pieces. The communists' goal is to divert the people's wrath which is expected to explode one of these days. I am reluctant to play the role of a lugubrious prophet, but I am convinced that we are on the threshold of a revolutionary crisis and revolutionary situation. When your children are starving, you do not think twice, you go

looking for bread. This is how revolutions happen, and this is what Lenin wrote. His followers are well aware of it, no less than we are.

The nomenklatura is dying, but slowly, and is "resisting" to its last breath. It has already proved that it is capable of anything in its final, deadly struggle. It does not hesitate to kill its own people (like in Romania), or destroy its own children (like in China). It would not refrain even from the most disgraceful acts

The video cameras recorded the arrival of the two gentlemen Lilov and Bokov at the burnt headquarters on the morning after the arson. As early as then the people spontaneously reacted, calling them arsonists. The nickname Van Der Lilov [allusion to Van Der Luebe, who set fire to Reichstag in 1933] became popular.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] To what extent are the arson and the events resulting from it expected to play a consolidating role for the 100-year-old party shortly prior to its split, which seems already inevitable?

[Koshlukov] This is probably the most essential objective of the sinister scenario.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Thank-you for the interview.

BSP's Serbezov on Need for Unity, Reform

AU1209120490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
8 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "BSP Is for a Government With Broad Political Basis"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] continues to support the formation of a multiparty coalition government, a government with a broad political basis, with the participation of as many political forces as possible, Rumen Serbezov, secretary of the BSP Supreme Council, said on 7 September on Bulgarian Television.

The BSP leadership is convinced that everything possible must be done for the unification of all political forces and overcoming the political and economic crisis. Serbezov said that delaying the radical reforms could lead us to the point of no return, after which it will be difficult for any government to save the nation and the state.

Serbezov expressed hope and confidence that Andrey Lukanov will meet with success in his efforts. There already are real results in the political compromises and cooperation between the various parties and political forces. A representative of the Union of Democratic Forces is president, and his functions also include a part of the state's executive functions. Representatives of various political forces participate in the National Assembly leadership, which also has certain executive functions. Recently the parliament decided that provisional executive committees and provisional leaderships with the participation of various political forces will be established in the municipalities even before the elections.

All this shows that since reasonable compromises and cooperation exist at all other layers of power, it is also normal to base the government on cooperation, Rumen Serbezov said.

Dzhurov Addresses BSP 9 Sep Anniversary Rally

AU1209125690 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
10 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Mitko Bozhkov, Boris Gergov report on Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) procession and rally on 9 September 1944 insurrection anniversary in Sofia on 9 September: "Sofia Celebrated Bulgaria's Antifascist Day With Flowers and Songs"]

[Excerpts] "For unity, against neofascism, for democracy, and civil peace"—this was the slogan of yesterday's procession and rally organized by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to mark the 46th anniversary of the antifascist victory in our country. [passage omitted]

By about 1000, 9 September Square was already crowded with people of different ages. National tricolored flags, red flags, and flags with the BSP emblem were hoisted. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, was the first speaker to appear on the balcony in front of the National Art Gallery. He stated:

This is the first 9 September 1944 anniversary we are celebrating since 10 November 1989. Many things happened in the meantime and we thought them over. A victory of all democratic forces in Bulgaria was achieved 46 years ago in the vicinity of this square. It was the victory over a regime which isolated our country from the democratic nations of the world and placed Bulgaria in the humiliating position of a vassal subject to Hitler's Germany, the speaker recalled.

Today we are searching for ways and means permitting us to join world civilization. This goal can be achieved only after assessing our experience of the last 45 years and after clearly realizing which path might lead to the society for which all honest democrats in Bulgaria strive. Evidently, it could not be the path of disgraceful provocations and barbarous acts, such as those we witnessed during the night of 26-27 August, Georgi Pirinski declared. It can only be the path of national consensus and cooperation for the sake of present and future Bulgaria.

Before congratulating all participants in the festivities, the deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council declared: "Our procession is not directed against anyone. We are not calling for an attack against any political force. We urge all citizens to defend our frail democracy which has just emerged in our country. We appeal to everyone to support all initiatives within the Grand National Assembly, and outside it, aimed at consolidating the new democratic system in our country." [passage omitted]

At the common grave of antifascist fighters in Liberty Park, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, who took the floor, repeatedly stressed that compatriots, Socialists, and BSP supporters have gathered here to remind everyone of the profound meaning which characterizes the 9 September 1944 anniversary as a nationwide cause. We are here to prevent that the self-sacrifice of the heroes who perished in the struggle against fascism should not be covered by oblivion. Army General Dzhurov further stated:

"We are here to declare that the horrible features of fascism cannot be deleted from the memory of several generations in our country. They are familiar with fascism and we should believe them when they warn us about the danger of its reappearance on Bulgaria's political scene."

We are here to declare our convictions and our adherence to a policy of civil peace, of national consensus, of peaceful transition to democracy, of a rule-of-law state, and a civic society, D. Dzhurov said. We are saying so because we are familiar with civil war, which cost the lives of numerous, unforgettable victims.

The 9 September victory cannot be disgraced in the people's memory by subsequent abuses of power, by alien models of social development which were forced upon us, by distortions of the fighters' ideals on the part of corrupted and criminal politicians, by difficulties, and trials undertaken by a small and poor country in search of new paths of development.

For me, the ideals which inspired the 9 September 1944 victory are even more poignant today, because they are threatened once more, D. Dzhurov further said. Several attempts were made to prove that fascism never existed in Bulgaria, that no heads were severed. Perhaps, more tribute will be paid to the traitors, than to the heroes of resistance from now on, perhaps the people's oppressors, instead of the people will be celebrated in the future, and all this is aimed at denigrating and rejecting the Bulgarian people's 9 September victory.

Let us hope that this will never happen, because nothing is more dangerous for a nation's future than deliberate actions aimed at intentionally distorting the people's historic memory, actions aimed at deleting, slandering, and destroying all those events of a people's history which glorify them and elevate them to the level of the great worldwide movements in defense of civilization and universal human values.

The antifascist resistance and the 9 September 1944 victory strengthened and developed our people's sense of freedom and democracy, Army General Dzhurov pointed out. In front of the common grave, we profoundly realize that whatever we do today, we do in the people's name. "This is the right place and the right occasion to say that our further progress requires great courage, firm resolve, and manly spirit," Dobri Dzhurov stated in closing his address.

Anniversary Celebrations Viewed

AU1209124990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Sep 90 p 2

[Unattributed DUMA editorial: "While We Listened and Watched...."]

[Text] Millions of Bulgarians celebrated the anniversary of 9 September 1944 which is one of the greatest dates in Bulgaria's national history. On this date, 46 years ago, our country broke the chains of fascism and honorably joined the great antifascist coalition. This is what makes 9 September a nationwide holiday, a day of democracy and progress. The shortcomings and mistakes accumulated over the years following this glorious date cannot obfuscate its shining glory.

For this reason, our public was disturbed by the manner in which certain journalists and political leaders marked the anniversary. The manner in which this remarkable anniversary was dismissed by numerous state institutions, the Presidency included, also evokes consternation. After all, and in spite of the existing political differences which divide present-day Bulgaria, no one should never forget the sacrifice and heroic deeds of the revolutionary generations which defended our motherland's antifascist honor. All over Europe, and not only in Europe, the victory over fascism is celebrated as a solemn and highly revered anniversary. Once again we made an exception which only demonstrates the low level of political culture characterizing certain public in our country.

The 9 September anniversary does not need any unnecessary compliments and eulogies. Nor is anyone capable of overshadowing its glory. The anniversary is a fact without which Bulgaria's recent history would be unthinkable. In this respect, any attempt to gloss over, or discredit the 9 September 1944 anniversary is disgraceful, and even untenable. Historical memory is much more objective and just than some people's petty hostilities and interests. History is above everything and the only factor determining the importance of one, or another event, or date, in our national calender. All the rest is the result of political vanity and moral impotence.

No Indictment, Conclusion in Case Against Zhivkov

AU1209191790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "There Is Still No Indictment Against Todor Zhivkov"]

[Text] Reni Tsanova, Todor Zhivkov's attorney, said that the prosecution has three alternatives in Zhivkov's case: to continue the investigation; to file an indictment; or to discontinue the investigation because of lack of sufficient evidence. She said this yesterday to a Bulgarian Television reporter in connection with the expiration of the term of the preliminary investigation related to Todor Zhivkov's case.

There still is no indictment or any conclusion on the part of the prosecution, which is one of the procedural stages along the road toward filing an indictment. The attorney also said that the defense had objected to certain actions related to the preliminary investigation.

Asked why Todor Zhivkov refused to appear at the National Assembly after he initially expressed willingness to do so in a personally hand-written letter to the parliament, Tsanova answered: "This is a very important factor, which must be pointed out. Todor Zhivkov has never backed down from his previous commitment to appear at the National Assembly. The question is only when to do so."

Fuel Director Predicts Shortages in Sep

AU1209192390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[Mara Georgieva report: "In September There Will Also Be a Shortage of Fuel"]

[Text] "Our preliminary calculations show that in September only 64 percent of the demand for fuel will be met," Kupen Dimov, "Petroleum" deputy general director said.

During the month of August the Petroleum-Chemical Combine near Burgas has processed almost 20,000 tonnes of petroleum daily. When supply is normal the combine daily processes 34-35,000 tonnes.

In August "Petroleum" received 79,000 tonnes fuel for vehicles. However, the demand was for 140,000 tonnes. September will be like August regarding supply and demand, Kupen Dimov predicted.

The deputy general director confirmed that official vehicles, especially those related to agriculture, have priority in receiving fuel.

Commentary Questions Direction of Foreign Policy

AU1209125390 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 37 10 Sep 90 p 9

[Encho Gospodinov commentary: "We Are Worth Nothing...."]

[Excerpts] I have in mind the article of a Soviet colleague which I recently read. It explains how the Soviet Union and its 20,000 military advisers are acting in Syria, Iraq, Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, Angola, and other countries. [passage omitted] My Moscow colleague is asking himself now what to do with people like Saddam, who was a friend yesterday, but is not quite so today....

I am also asking myself the same question and so are numerous other people—our foreign policy makers, in particular. What should we do with Saddam and Hafiz, with Mu'ammar, and Mengistu, with Fidel, and Hun Sen—just to name a few? "All our foreign policy is not worth a penny," one of our more liberal diplomats told me five to six years ago. Such diplomats were quite numerous, but like the majority of them, the aforementioned one expressed quite different views in his official reports to Sofia. He shared his real thoughts only with his friends and children, about whom he was concerned, above all.

Our present foreign policy still corresponds to this judgment. It is still worthless. According to an old Slavonic-Balkan tradition, we are going from one extreme to another. In search of new horizons and new friends, which is natural, and in a our present state of total confusion, we are burning old and reliable bridges, without building new ones. From our full and wholehearted support for the Palestinians (I have in mind those who have been fighting for their freedom over the last 1,000 days), we heartily embraced Israel (which was so often slandered in the recent past) hoping that the money of the rich Jews and of their worldwide lobbies will begin to flow into our impoverished and hungry Bulgaria. After millions of insults against Turgut Ozal, we may even kiss his hands today should he offer us 300 or 400 million [currency not specified]. We invested billions of leva in Iraq, Libya, Angola, and Mozambique. Today we are now wracking our brains to find out how to retrieve this money, while they are desperately wracking their brains trying to find out how to rescue themselves from the advice of our advisers who advised them how to build up progressive and prosperous social systems with the help of our battery-driven tricks, cooperatives, and some iron goods of variable range and caliber. [passage omitted]

What should we do with our old friends, and how should we deal with the new ones? First, our approach should be cool. It should be less emotional and more farsighted than in the past. We should treat our partners in the same manner as they treat us. We can now understand that there is some truth in the statement of an old Englishman who said that Britain has no everlasting friends, but permanent interests. Italy, without severing its relations with Israel which it keeps up "as a matter of principle" is a more staunch supporter of the Palestinian cause than we are. The United States supports Israel, which does not prevent it from criticizing Israel whenever it considers it necessary and from having loyal friends in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, (the former) Kuwait, and even in a numerous other Arab countries, who "as a matter of principle," are against Israel. Had we not so enthusiastically hailed Fidel, Saddam, Mengistu, and Mu'ammar with "hosannah" in the past, it would be unnecessary to cry "crucify them" today. If our former friendship had been sincere, instead of ideological, it would not be necessary to insult old friends today in order to please the new ones, or to please ourselves. Therefore, we are still not worth a penny.....

Presence of Iraqi Vessel in Varna Port Reported

AU1209183590 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Sep (BTA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announces: "The Iraqi ship Balkiz has been

anchored in the roads of the port of Varna for several days now. She arrived to take on board 281 tons of powdered milk, manufactured by the Swiss company Nestle, which was transported from Hamburg and Rotterdam and was bound for the Turkish port of Mersin on a scheduled bulcon [word as received] service. As the Turkish side refused to accept the cargo, the containers were unloaded in Varna.

"In compliance with Resolution 661 of the UN Security Council the Bulgarian side promptly notified the UN Committee on Sanctions and waits for its stand to make a decision on the matter.

"On humanitarian grounds the Bulgarian authorities complied with the request of the ship's captain to provide drinking water and to accept for treatment a severely ill member of the crew who is in critical condition."

Zhelev Receives New CSFR Ambassador Barbirek

AU1209134890 Sofia BTA in English 1235 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Sep (BTA)—Radical changes in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia created favourable conditions for the development of bilateral cooperation said today Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. Receiving the letters of credit of the newly appointed Czechoslovakian ambassador to this country the Bulgarian head of state also said that the countries of Eastern Europe are now shaking off the burden of totalitarism and are starting along the way of joining the European values. These are the processes that show the essence of common interests, of the possibilities for interaction, he added.

Our relations should be harmonic and realistic, they should shake free of the declarations and formalism which burdened them, the Bulgarian head of state said.

Czechoslovakian Ambassador Frantisek Barbirek stressed on the possibilities for cooperation between the two states mainly in the sphere of economy. He spoke for the reciprocal opening up of the two economies in the name of overcoming the present day economic division "of the old continent."

According to Frantisek Barbirek the similarity of political changes in the two countries helps the raising of bilateral cooperation to a higher level.

CSFR Considering Sending Aid to Arab Nations

AU1209094490 Paris AFP in English 0926 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Prague, Sept 12 (AFP)—Czechoslovakia is looking into "the possibility of providing military assistance to Egypt and medical aid to Saudi Arabia," President Vaclav Havel said in an interview Wednesday with AFP.

He said Prague had "firmly and unambiguously" condemned Iraq's August 2 invasion of Kuwait and was resolved "to take part in the embargo against Iraq despite the enormous sums that country owes us and which we could otherwise exchange for the oil which we so sorely need."

He said Czechoslovakia "knows only too well from past experience where policies of appeasement and concessions to the forces of evil are likely to lead".

In this respect, he said visits which French President Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will make here this week took on "a symbolic importance" almost 52 years to the day since the Munich agreement of September 29 1938 by which France and Britain endorsed Hitler's seizure of Sudetenland.

The visits would "close the book on an unhappy chapter of our history even if this is not their main purpose" President Havel said.

On relations with France, he said a "broad political consensus" was not reflected in the development of economic ties where he said West Germany was leading the field in cashing in on Czechoslovakia's economic reforms. "This has nothing to do with any political desire on our part but results from their dynamism and sometimes more advantageous offers..... After all, business is business."

However he said Czechoslovaks should avoid allowing their country to become "once again the private reserve of a single country. We want balanced political and economic relations with European and non-European powers."

President Havel said that as part of its "opening up to Europe" Czechoslovakia was hoping to be chosen as the site of the permanent headquarters of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The decision to set up a permanent secretariat was taken at a summit of the 35 CSCE states (all Europe excluding Albania plus the United States and Canada) in Paris last November.

He said his government already had in a mind a palace near the Prague presidency to house the CSCE staff. But he said Prague "can just as well host any other specific organisation created under the Helsinki process, for example an environmental centre or a body concerned with democracy and free elections".

On domestic policy, he said he was "following very closely" the preparations and first stage of privatisations in Czechoslovakia. The rules "will shortly be finalised" for the first phase which concerns small firms nationalised by the communists. "We must create conditions favourable to the former owners and workers" of privatised inns, restaurants, shops and workshops, and "avoid a takeover by traffickers and people who got rich under the communists".

On municipal elections scheduled for November 23 and 24, President Havel said the purpose was above all to "install decentralised administrations and competent and honest officials".

This was "more important than the percentage of votes" obtained by the ruling coalition, the president said.

Anti-Chemical Warfare Material Bound for Gulf

AU1109203690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Help for Those Threatened by Iraqi Aggression"]

[Text] Plzen—According to informed circles, a contract was recently signed to supply material for individual anti-chemical protection to countries immediately threatened by possible Iraqi aggression. According to this information, Civil Defense material has already started to be collected in main storage places in West Bohemia.

Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Jiri Povolny from the West Bohemia Civil Defense Headquarters stated that this material involves protective masks, replacement filters for them, and special anti-chemical containers for children [protichemicke vaky]. Civil Defense units throughout the CSFR are carrying out this task as several hundred thousand items are involved in each order.

It will take several weeks to collect the material in the main storage places. Citizens' security has in no way been threatened.

Refinery Hit by Cutback in Soviet Oil Supplies

AU0709104490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Sep 90 p 2

[Lubo Rabay report: "There Will Be Oil, but Not for the Hydrocracking Unit"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The current talks by our [Slovak] Government delegation in Moscow on crude oil deliveries from the Soviet Union were probably successful and, before the end of September, we will import about one million tonnes of this increasingly precious raw material from there. It will not be imported in exchange for merchandise [as the Slovak Government planned], however, but for hard currency allocated by the government. This piece of information with limited liability was disclosed by Jozef Cimbora, director of the Slovnaft

state enterprise, at yesterday's news conference in Bratislava; the news conference was devoted to the problems accompanying the construction of the hydrocracking unit [in the Slovnaft refinery].

Until yesterday morning, the enterprise management had to deal with the import of only 300,000 tonnes of crude oil in the course of September—instead of the originally planned 490,000 tonnes. During the summer this largest petrochemical combine in the CSFR already had to shut down some distilling and reforming lines, as well as the so-called small-volume petrochemistry. Since the beginning of the year the Slovnaft refinery has received 1.2 million tonnes of crude oil less than provided for in the annual, already scaled-down plan. The enterprise is now impatiently waiting to hear whether the good—yet still unofficial—news from Moscow will be confirmed at today's talks with Vladimir Dlouhy, CSFR minister of economy.

This year, Slovnaft is also considering the import of an additional 200,000 tonnes of so-called heavy crude oil from Iran. The problem, however, is that our equipment is not adapted to the processing of this less clean type. Yet Slovnaft will supposedly manage to cope even with this fuel, should it fail to exchange the agreed amount for crude oil of higher quality, from the Soviet Union for example. [passage omitted]

Negative for Slovnaft, but also for the entire national economy, was the information that, apparently, none of the crude oil imported this year will be processed by the hydrocracking unit. Following the unsuccessful attempt by the well-known Italian firm Nuovo Pignone to repair the air coolers, their repair will be delayed by six to eight weeks and the subsequent so-called pre-trial runs will take another month. [passage omitted] Instead of raising the efficiency of processing the expensive raw material threefold, Slovnaft will continue to suffer a daily loss of up to 1.2 million korunas. [passage omitted]

[Prague PRACE in Czech on 5 September carries a 200-word "(rh)"- signed report on the aforementioned news conference, which quotes Slovnaft managers as saying that the refinery will incur a total loss of 3.5 billion korunas this year as a result of cutbacks in Soviet oil supplies and delays in the construction of the hydrocracking unit]

Lithuania's Prunskiene To Visit CSFR

LD1109140490 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 11 (CTK)—Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene will arrive on a two-day visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Premier Marian Calfa on September 14.

The two prime ministers will discuss the possibilities of cooperation in the political, economic and cultural spheres. Mrs Prunskiene will be received by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and at the end of her visit will go to the Slovak capital, Bratislava.

Lithuania's Ozolas on European Help for Baltics

LD1209040390 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow Sept 11 (CTK correspondent)—Lithuanian Deputy Premier Romualdas Ozolas told CTK here today in connection with Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene's coming visit to Czechoslovakia that Central European countries, including Czechoslovakia, can help Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia win independence.

The Lithuanian premier is expected to arrive in Czechoslovakia for a two-day visit on September 14.

Ozolas stressed the importance of informal organizations and movements, and added that also governments can help solve the Baltics' question if they point to it in international relations.

The Lithuanian deputy premier said that his country's representatives held talks at the Czechoslovak Embassy here on possibilities of economic cooperation between Lithuania nd Czechoslovakia, and drew the conclusion that there should be practically no obstacles if a formula is found for establishing economic contacts at a time when Lithuania does not control its borders.

Ozolas told CTK that proposals to be taken by Prunskiene to Czechoslovakia are being prepared only now when Lithuania has mastered problems of anti-inflation and anti-speculation struggle, and when it has specified for itself what it expects from cooperation with the USSR.

CTK Excluded From World Economic Forum

LD0709212390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Federal Pesident Vaclav Havel arrived at Kolodeje Castle tonight to address those taking part in the regional meeting of the World Economic Forum at the close of their discussions. CTK has not published the president's speech because the organizers refused to allow its reporter to cover the event.

Czechoslovak-Chinese Association Founded

AU0709145690 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 6 Sep 90 p 4

[Unattributed report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] Yesterday in Prague, already for the third time in our history, a Czechoslovak-Chinese Association was formed at the initiative of Czechoslovak sinologists. It has a membership of 120 people and Dr. V. Hrdlickova was elected its chairman.

Last Group of Cuban Workers Leave Hrusovany

LD0809123390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] The last group of 31 Cuban workers from the production line of Gustav Kliment enterprise at Hrusovany near Brno ended its stay in Czechoslovakia. This has occurred on the basis of a requirement of Cuba, according to which, by the end of the current year, all Cuba citizens working in Czechoslovakia will terminate their employment. The last batch of Cuban workers at the Gustav Kliment enterprise at Rebic-Borovina will leave in October.

Mitterrand Arrives in Prague 13 Sep

LD1309085990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Francois Mitterrand, president of France, arrived in Czechoslovakia today on an official visit. Vaclav Havel, the Czechoslovak president, welcomed him at Prague-Ruzyne Airport.

Besides holding talks with our leading representatives, Mitterrand will address the Federal Assembly in the afternoon. We shall broadcast the speech live on Radio Czechoslovakia.

Havel, Mitterrand Begin Talks

LD1309140290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] French president Francois Mitterrand today started a two-day official visit in Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Vaclav Havel, president of the CSFR.

After the welcoming ceremony at Ruzyne airport both presidents left the Prage Castle where the French guest, accompanied by Vaclav Havel, inspected the honor guard from the Castle Guards.

Both statesmen, together with their wives, then met for the first informal talks.

Shortly before lunch, the first official talks between Vaclav Havel and Francois Mitterrand were held in the president's study where foreign minister Jiri Dienstbier and Ronald Dumas and Alexandr Vondra, adviser to the Czechoslovak president, also took part.

At the same time, talks opened between the members of the Czechoslovak and the French delegations.

On the French president's agenda today is a visit to the Federal Assembly where he will deliver a speech which we shall bring to you in a direct relay on Czechoslovak radio.

Defense Minister Vacek Comments on Army

Notes Army's Role in Pact Exercises

LD1009131290 Prague CTK in English 1204 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek said at a press conference here today that the Czechoslovak Army no longer takes part in big joint military exercises of the Warsaw Treaty.

This is in tune with the changeover of the military function of the Warsaw Treaty to a political one agreed upon by the June session of the grouping's Political Consultative Committee. However, "Czechoslovakia wants to be a Warsaw Treaty member so that it may influence its developments in the new conditions," the minister stressed.

In connection with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, Miroslav Vacek said that the studies of the 64 Iraqi students at the Brno, South Moravia, military academy were suspended on August 28, adding that a decision on their future is up to the Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Ministry which concludes contracts on studies with foreign partners.

The minister also denied a report originating at the Foreign Trade Ministry that nine Czechoslovak military specialists are now in Iraq. "If there are any, then they are not members of the Czechoslovak Army," the minister stressed.

Speaking about expansion of contacts with Western armies, Miroslav Vacek said they are beneficial especially from the point of view of necessary democratization in the Czechoslovak Army and its planned professionalization.

The minister told journalists he will pay an official visit to Spain in October, while Polish, FRG and British defence ministers are expected in Prague in the next six weeks. Invitations have been conveyed also to the ministers of France and Italy. At the beginning of next year, Czechoslovakia should welcome the defence ministers from Canada and the USA, Miroslav Vacek added.

Concerned About Manpower Losses

LD1009151590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] CSFR Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek gave a press conference in Prague this morning. Bernard Rostecky has more details:

[Rostecky] The defense ministrer assessed developments in the Czechoslovak Army during the past three months—that is, from the last press conference held in May. He voiced his particular concern over the continuing outflow of national servicemen to civilian service: 13,855 servicemen have applied to do civilian service and 11,029 persons had already been released by

1 September 1990. This, in my view, is a rather large figure representing around six percent of the overall numerical strength of the Army. More astonishing, therefore, is the fact that the national committees have stil not yet dealt properly with the issue of the civilian service. General Vacek underlined this fact by saying that National Committees had called in only 700 persons to do a civilian service. At the same, time the health service is currently wrestling with a big shortage of auxilliary staff.

Gives 'Target Model' of Development

LD1009205990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Correspondent Lubomir (Zumar) reports on the news conference held by Czechoslovak Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek in Prague on 10 September; (Zumar) speaks in Slovak]

[Text] The journalists present were acquainted with a target model of the development of the Army in the period up to 2005, which tackles three circles of problems. The first is the reduction of the manpower and weaponry of the Czechoslovak Army—in the course of two years, the manpower of the Army will be reduced by 60,000 people and by 30 to 40 percent of the main sorts of weaponry—that is, tanks, armed vehicles, and artillery.

The second is the future reduction of national military service and gradual professionalization. In the next three to five years the national military service will be reduced to 12 months and the professionalization in the first stage will move from the present 30 percent to about 50 percent, which is the ratio in the Bundeswehr, and in the future it will reach full professionalization.

Third, the program of tackling the fundamental transfer changes which correspond to the Czechoslovak military defense doctrine—that is, the even location of Army units on the entire territory of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

The minister of defense went on to stress that the request by all the career soldiers who asked to be released from the Czechoslovak Army be granted. By 1 September, 8,729 officers and warrant officers—out of them 2,206 who refused to sign the oath—would be released.

The process of rehabilitation and the return to active service of those career soldiers who were struck out in the post-1968 period is occuring successfuly. Out of 9,206 appeals, less than 4,000 were dealt with, and 679 career soldiers returned to active service.

The process of retesting is being carried out according to the plan. Ten percent of career soldiers underwent it; consequently, 987 of them were not confirmed in their posts.

Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of defense, also provided the journalists with the fact that following the Law on Civil Service 13,855 soldiers were released from the Army. It is disturbing that out of this number only 700 soldiers began their civil service through the National Committees. In this context, the Army's leadership calls for the amendment of the Law on Civil Service, which would state that those called for national military service could refuse it only before they take military oath and after that the requests should not be accepted.

During the discussion, the minister of defense answered many questions regarding the cooperation of the Czechoslovak Army with the Warsaw Pact command, questions of an alleged possible misuse of the Czechoslovak Army in November of last year, as well as the questions about the progressing professionalization and reform of the Czechoslovak Army.

[Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 10 September in a similar report adds: General Miroslav Vacek, federal minister of defense, gave a news conference in Prague today. Replying to a question about the possible misuse of the Army in the course of last year's revolution, he said that the most important thing is that it did not in fact intervene last November and that the Army command did not issue any orders to intervene.

"The defense minister also spoke about the relations between our Army and the Warsaw Pact and said that we would not in the near future take part in any large joint exercises. However, our country continues to be a member of the Warsaw Pact."]

Interviewed on Changes

AU0709092190 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 3 Sep 90 pp 1,6

[Report on interview with Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR defense minister, by Jozef Ruttkay in Prague; date not given: "An Overall View of the Army"]

[Text] Our society's great taboo, the Army, is still the focus of interest. The Communist regime, which gradually turned it into—and succeeded in turning it into—an offshoot of the Soviet Army, deserves particular recognition for this. The public, therefore, is now asking questions: How has the Army leadership reacted to the new international and domestic developments? How are the current changes taking place within the Czechoslovak Army?

We met Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR defense minister, in his study. We had an hour for the interview. We were the first Slovak journalists to be granted an interview by the Army General. On the very same day a certain large circulation Prague daily published an opinion that the general has a great deal of power at his disposal and may, at any moment, turn it against our democratic development. It is not the first time that he has been suspected of preparing a putsch.

People in the minister's circle keep their thoughts to themselves. The minister—a man chosen by Vaclav

Havel—as it is generally assumed, considers these opinions to be the invective of irresponsible people.

We have an hour for the interview. Let us get on with it.

[Ruttkay] Are the current endeavors by some Civic Forum and Public Against Violence movement coordinating committees aimed at removing various mafias and "brotherhoods" also being reflected in the Czechoslovak Army?

[Vacek] It is necessary to count me among the people who worked under the old structures. Let people think whatever they want about what I did or did not do in my post, or what I fulfilled or did not fulfill. I have made some important changes in the Army. For example, of the overall number of 157 generals, I have sent 87 into the reserves. But if anyone is expecting more and more.... We will not be particularly hasty in this. I am willing to deal with all cases if I have proof that this or that officer or general did not act honorably, or if he enriched himself, but I do not intend to allow myself to succumb to campaigns. Let people explain this whatever way they want. Let me repeat again: I am not linking the rest of my life with my post as defense minister.

[Ruttkay] What else happened in our Army after 17 November, apart from the fact that the word "comrade" is no longer used, basic military service has been cut, and there are no political instructors?

[Vacek] It is not easy to say what has happened in the Army since 17 November. In many cases, even the ordinary "cleansing" of the Army does not have to be the essential, most important element of these changes. I would like, first and foremost, to say that the Czechoslovak Army leadership—as opposed to several of the claims that have been made—has done a great deal on its own initiative and not because it was forced to do so. I would also like to say that I have not come across any sensible reasons for the accusation that I, or the Czechoslovak Army leadership, are slowing down the democratization process in the Army. We thought a great deal about what to do and how to do it so that the democratization process makes real sense and, of course, so that it brings results. No one has slowed down the democratization process. On the contrary, we are still trying to assist it. On the other hand, I have to say that not everything that is happening—and has happened—in the Army completely satisfies us. We consider this to be a fundamental difference. If we did not want to, we would not seek other methods. We are, therefore, annoyed about all the things in which we are not successful, and we are trying to unravel all the complexities which this organism called the Army undoubtedly presents.

I want, therefore, to say: In the Czechoslovak Army we have adopted certain fundamental measures as a result of the well-known changes, or rather, the abolition of an article in the Constitution. A great deal of work has been involved. The abolition of the political apparatus alone took place in 14 days. Our approach toward a solution perhaps did not satisfy many people and is the subject of criticism. I consider it very important that we were active co-creators, for example, of the defense law (it will be adopted following the approval of the national constitutions and the federal constitution) and the law on civilian service. This very law affects us a lot. The fact that a citizen can refuse or not want to carry out basic military training for religious or political reasons, however, has ceased to be of interest to us. Everything else is up to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the national governments because they are organizing civilian service. We did a great deal in formulating this law. For example, we put together all the requisite materials from Western armies. We initiated a general discussion on this issue involving the political parties and movements.

[Ruttkay] The public knows that you are also drafting a Czechoslovak military doctrine.

[Vacek] We think that perhaps it is not our reserved right to draft a military doctrine, but we have already established its principles. We have also already been criticized by various groups and people for this. The doctrine exists. It is consistent and everything asserted by our president at his last meeting with the most senior representatives in Moscow is enshrined in it, that is, our Army's complete subordination to its national leadership, the fulfillment of tasks only on our own territory, and our soldiers' participation in exclusively defense operations.

[Ruttkay] I read somewhere that the proposed doctrine has a distinct Russian accent.

[Vacek] That is not true. We have enough experts of our own.

[Ruttkay] Readers who write to us about conditions within the Czechoslovak Army have, in many cases, expressed their lack of trust because you have "reached a settlement" with the political instructors who were the typical representatives of the ruling Communist Party in the Army. What has happened to them?

[Vacek] Many things have arisen from ignorance of the facts. There are almost 60,000 professional soldiers in the Czechoslovak Army; approximately 3,500 men belonged to the political staff. Roughly 57 percent of them were, in essence, transferred to the new educational and cultural apparatus. At the same time, I would like to say that when we considered how to proceed toward the former party-political apparatus, we did not have very many alternatives. We proceeded from President V. Havel's hypothesis that groups of people should not be judged from the collective guilt point of view. Almost the entire senior level in the party-political apparatus has left the Czechoslovak Army. The average age of the former political employees who transferred to the educational and cultural apparatus was 34. They cannot have any connection with the 1968-69 period. They cannot be active advocates of normalization tendencies.... It would be something else if I officially claimed that political employees have left the Army and, at the same time,

concealed them somewhere. I made it clear from the very beginning, however, that a substantial number of them are to be given a chance. It is true that some of them have returned to their former professions. I have to say that the selection principle for the former party-political apparatus sometimes really depended on competent professional soldiers from other professions. I know that annually 30-50 of the best commander-specialists received an offer to transfer to the party-political apparatus. Not all of them took up this offer. But because in its own way this was an evaluation of their work, some of them transferred and carried out new functions for two, three, or five years. They conducted themselves in their new positions just as reasonably as they had in their commanders' positions. Moreover, they were hard-working and knowledgeable with a good attitude toward people. I cannot agree with the view that the political apparatus always represented a uniform mass of people marked, shall we say, by its reckless attitude toward people. The 1980's cannot be compared to the 1950's. Political representatives were much less significant in the 1980's than in the 1950's. The commanding cadres already existed. I am considering the situation from my own point of view. When I was in command of a division and had a political officer, my deputy, I had enough positive influence on him in asserting my own ideas. If anyone is to be blamed, it should be the commanders who, in many cases, played a decisive role and not the above-mentioned political employees. This point of view is targeted upon the commanders and those of us who served during the normalization process.

[Ruttkay] What direction is educational and cultural work taking now?

[Vacek] We wanted a civilian to supervise this sphere; we found Dr. Rasek, who was appointed my deputy for education and culture. We were aware that the structure of education and culture would become the subject of criticism, and of justified criticism. Everything we have created during the transition period, therefore, is a system for soldiers in combination with a system for civilians. For example, administrations or departments of education and culture have been established at all levels. It is possible to see there a specific parallel with the former administrations and departments in the party-political apparatus. We wanted this apparatus to be under the control of the public. Therefore, if a professional soldier is in command of this administration, then he has a civilian as his deputy. I can say that he will be a well-paid civilian who will not have to worry about suffering financially when coming into the Army. We have asked psychologists, lawyers, and sociologists. We have invited all the political parties and movements to send their people into this apparatus. We need around 35-40 people, but, so far, these posts have not been filled....

[Ruttkay] What about the content of contemporary military civilian education?

[Vacek] We are interested in ensuring that soldiers have an idea about the democratization process underway in our society and in the Army. We are also interested in ensuring that they acquire the knowledge they will need in civilian life. This involves a complete set of interesting subjects. The contents have been put together by civilians, educated people who were persecuted during the past 20 years. You may publish the topics which they have formulated whenever you wish.

[Ruttkay] We have published a whole series of comments on basic military training in our newspaper.

[Vacek] My order No.027 on humanizing basic military training is mainly directed toward eradicating these comments. It was even considered surprising in our military youth organization, which originally wanted me "to fight for this during the course of two years." As you can see, the Army leadership is active.

[Ruttkay] What has been achieved, then, during the past eight months in the Czechoslovak Army?

[Vacek] It is immeasurable, but we consider everything we have done during the past eight months to be the beginning of the democratization process.

[Ruttkay] Establishing prerequisites for professionalizing the Army belongs here. Do we have any chance at all of creating a professional army in our country?

[Vacek] No, we do not. The people who are now talking about professionalization should devote more time to the experiences of those who have a professional army.

[Ruttkay] What is a professional army like?

[Vacek] Every case has its own advantages. If we calculate the advantages and disadvantages and come to the conclusion that the disadvantages are also positive for us, we will do it. From the very beginning we have been referring to the objective advantages and disadvantages of professionalization.

[Ruttkay] Within the framework of the state budget, the Army has a sum agreed by parliament amounting to 30 million korunas. The question often is whether the Army is spending these resources purposefully?

[Vacek] I take credit for advocating that we be able to make this budget public. Thirty million korunas is indeed a great deal of money. If people think that the other states in Europe spend relatively more on their armies, they are correct! They are continuing, in essence, the trend of a percentage increase, while we have cut our budget during the past three years. Very significantly. We purchase technology that we think the Army needs. Of course, the changed military and political situation in Europe and in the world has enabled us to cancel some orders, and we have done so. If we mothball hundreds... up to 3,000 tanks, then, we will not purchase superfluous new technology, although the technology which we mothball is more outdated. We lack new technology. We are already lagging behind on a technological level. The

current reduction in defense expenditure, in essence, means—and I am making this claim responsibly—that the construction of the Czechoslovak Army and its modernization will come to a halt. The technology we buy corresponds to our needs. If it were better, we would buy more of it. But if it was better, it would cost even more (a terrible amount of) money. In 1956 we could have bought technology for three regiments for the cost today of one MiG 29 aircraft! The Spanish defense minister was here recently. We showed him the most modern MiG 29 aircraft. When he asked what we are paying for them in the USSR, he said that it was impossible. I thought he was shocked by the price we are paying for the aircraft. I soon realized that he was surprised by how "cheaply" we purchase aircraft. Their F-15 or F-16 aircraft, comparable fighters, cost ten times as much. Otherwise we have halted modernization. We do not have the resources.

[Ruttkay] Questions surrounding supervision of the Army arouse general attention in society. The issue involves a General Inspectorate for the Czechoslovak Army, something for which, allegedly, you have very little understanding. Judging from views expressed in the press and in parliament, the General Inspectorate should be the guarantor of the Army's modernization and professionalization and will even make sure that the Army spends its budget resources responsibly.

[Vacek] There was a General Inspectorate during the first republic, which had a slightly different character from the one being considered now. It was independent in its own way, but, despite this, was subordinate to the minister. Now there are calls for a different General Inspectorate. In essence, this would mean a considerable restriction of the president's rights. I have no fundamental reservations against supervision of the Army. I, however, would like to say one thing: From everything being prepared, it is clear that the establishment of a shadow Ministry of National Defense is involved. Therefore, I am recommending the implementation of another variant. I see a solution in not establishing another institution which will burden the apparatus and even make our work more difficult. I am in favor of the appropriate minister being a civilian who will enjoy more trust than I do. I consider it to be too great a luxury that a General Inspectorate is being established on account of lack of trust in me.

Free Legion Group Opposes Army Leadership

LD0809201290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] Former legionnaires attended the founding congress of the Free Legion [Svobodna Legie] in Prague.

This association works outside the Czechoslovak Army's framework and represents opposition to the Army's current leadership, which is allegedly neither prepared for nor capable of carrying out the necessary professionalization of the army through a radical change in the officers corps without additional costs.

The Free Legion hopes to reduce army enrollment by two-thirds, to bring younger people into the force, to professionalize the force, and to promote one-year military service.

A new training model could be activated in one year by forming model units, based on army experiences, that would help reconstruct the army gradually.

The proposal will soon be made to the president of the republic.

Havel Meets Military Academy Top Graduates

LD1109151690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Federal President Vaclav Havel met in Prague today at the Federal Defense Ministry with the best graduates of military academies. Army General Miroslav Vacek, federal minister of defense, informed the president that 32 percent of all graduates complete their studies with top grades. Vaclav Havel pointed out that our army is facing difficult tasks because we wish to reduce it, make it partly professional, reduce the period of basic military service, and continue to humanize conditions.

Havel Comments on Change, Privatization, Elections

LD0909142590

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 9 September broadcasts its weekly "Conversations at Lany" program with President Vaclav Havel. The recorded program is 34 minutes. Jiri Vejvoda interviews the president.

Jiri Vejvoda begins by noting that, lately, many people—including radio disc jockey Pavlicek—have been calling for quick actions to be taken by those in power. Havel admits that there is a lot of nervous tension around, because of the failure to get the heavy rock of the past moving. He says there is a hope to get it moving soon and notes that the period from September to the end of the year is the decisive period, when either things begin to move or we fail in our efforts, and then the situation will become really serious. There is a general feeling that something needs to be done, but the number of problems is so enormous; furthermore, it is natural that people feel frustrated that it is so difficult to get firm grip on things and that nothing is moving quickly enough.

Vejvoda asks Havel about the issue of privatization and Havel admits that, in fact, not much ahs been done; we have the blueprint of privatization, but the first step—so-called reprivatization—has not yet been taken. He then goes on to outline the other steps of the privatization process and stresses the need to carry it out quickly, though in gradual phases and with proper care and involvement of our public. An important element in this process is destroying the former regime's structure, and

this task can be helped a lot by the involvement of people on local level of small enterprises and trade unions' branches.

Asked about the upcoming communal elections, Havel stresses the importance of villages' self-administration and praises the law adopted by the Czech National Council which makes a proper distinction between state administration and self-administration bodies. Havel points out that there is a need to replace the system of national committees set up by the former regime. He goes on to mention the law on Prague, which is still being discussed, and suggests that there is a need to quickly adopt at least a simple law which will abolish district national committees and enable people to elect deputies in the forthcoming elections to new adminstration bodies.

Vejvoda asks Havel about the world's view of Czechoslovakia. Havel recalls a session of ithe World Economic Forum, which he attended, and notes that he felt that the foreign representatives were already getting a bit nervous that our economic reform has not in fact begun yet. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia enjoys their full support.

Answering a question about letters he gets, Havel notes that it is impossible to answer all of them individually. He stresses that he is not cut off from public opinion; it is simply not possible for him to deal personally with all issues. The centralism of the past regime has gone but people still prefer to rely on central power instead of tackling the issues on the local level as is appropriate. Regarding some criticisms that he keeps delivering speeches on abstract subjects, such as fear or hatred, instead of dealing with specific issues, Havel stresses the power of the word and insists that the word really has its specific impact.

Asked if there is also some positive element in the nervous atmosphere these days, Havel says that in fact it shows that people are not feeling indifferent toward what is happening in Czechoslovakia. In this context, Havel notes the recent bishops' conference in Slovakia which dissociated itself from political affairs and concentrated on moral values, thus showing that all the actions have to be measured by the moral imperatives.

Deputy Premier on External Economic Relations

LD1209155190 Prague CTK in English 1131 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, Sept 12 (CTK)—Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales assured foreign businessmen today that the Czechoslovak Government will create the necessary conditions for the influx of foreign investment into Czechoslovakia.

Legal, material and financial infrastructure will be built and international agreements concluded on the protection of investment to create the necessary conditions for foreign investment in Czechoslovakia, Vales said opening the 32nd international engineering in Brno.

The ever greater international presence confirms that the fair has its firm place in the Czechoslovak economic structure, even in the changing conditions, Vales said.

He appreciated the willingness to help the Czechoslovak development demonstrated in the policy of the United States, the European Community, the European Free Trade Association as well as in the attitude of the General agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund and other world economic and financial institutions.

He noted that the present involvement of Czechoslovakia in international trade is very complicated. Economic cooperation within the Comecon is shaken. For Czechoslovakia this meant decline in trade with traditional partners and also jeopardized supplies of materials and products. Czechoslovakia has voiced support for all measures leading to conditions normal in world markets in trade between Comecon states. It wants to respect all inter-governmental agreements and expects its partners to do the same. Despite these short-term problems Czechoslovakia wants to cooperate with these states and wants to remain respected supplier and buyer. It appreciates primarily the possibilities offered by the Soviet market, Vales said.

Vales, a co-author of the blueprint for economic reform published earlier this month, said that Czechoslovakia is preparing legislation to put the reform into life and major steps are prepared for next year. A considerable role will be played by external economic relations. Sources will be sought for quick modernization of industry, for structural changes and also for the weakening of monopolies by the liberalization of foreign trade. Not only capital and modern technologies are necessary but also progresive methods of management and marketing, Vales said.

2,976 companies from 32 countries are present at the week-long event, using an exhibition area of 116,343 square metres.

Deputy Foreign Minister To Resign 15 Sep

LD1209085190 Prague CTK in English 0801 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 12 (CTK)—Vera Bartoskova has resigned her post of Czechoslovak deputy foreign minister and will leave the office on September 15, she told the daily LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in an interview published today.

Bartoskova is a member of the Czechoslovak People's Party whose chairman, Josef Bartoncik, has been publicly accused of wide-spread collaboration with the former StB secret police and her name has recently been mentioned in the same connection.

She denies her resignation has anything to do with this, she had submitted her resignation before these accustions.

She said the party and its leaders had been targets of attacks before last June's elections. She is convinced that these attacks would be repeated and "one is defenceless against such practices." She denied that her party was an ally of the Communists, "on the top leadership collaborated". She is convinced that political life in Czechoslovakia is yet to become really democratic.

Bartoskova, who has philosophy degree in France and who ran the section for Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia at the Foreign Ministry, believes that the People's Party, one of the two non- communist Czech parties which survived over 42 years of Communist rule, must overcome its internal problems and turn into modern healthily conservative Christian party, hopefully at its extraordinary congress later this month. She said she did not intend to be active in politics.

Positive Evaluation of Trencianske Teplice Meeting

LD0909155290 Prague CTK in English 1417 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 9 (CTK)—A communique issued after a session of the Club of Communist Deputies to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council held at Celakovice near Prague on September 8-9 positively evaluated results of the meeting of representatives of the Federal and national governments in Trencianske Teplice on August 8-9.

The results were aimed at strengthening those political directions which strive for the preservation of the Federation, the communique said, and supported the concept of priority formulation of national constitutions which should be followed by the elaboration of a federal constitution.

It criticized the adoption of a legislative measure of the Federal Assembly presidium providing for an expansion of the range of functions to which a person can be appointed and recalled any time. The communist deputies supported in the communique the creation of constitutional courts which would ensure that legislation correspond with the principles of a law-observing state.

Trade Unions General Council Holds Extra Session

LD0809174190 Prague CTK in English 1615 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 8 (CTK)—An extraordinary session of the General Council of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions was held in Brno, South Moravia, today.

Participants in the session approved a statement, stressing the principle of a real federation. The decision on an economic and social reform must be taken quickly, the document stressed, adding that social impacts on people will be deeper than the public expects. The government has to inform the people on these issues.

The statement said that the right to trade union association, collective negotiations and the right to strike must be fixed firmly in the constitution.

A draft program worked out by the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions and the Assembly of the Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic will be submitted to trade unions for consideration. They will be discussed by the General Council of Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions on September 25-26.

Officials at Intergovernmental Meeting in Piestany

LD1009192190 Prague CTK in English 1741 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Piestany, West Slovakia, Sept 10 (CTK)—The Czech and Slovak Governments are fully aware that it is a necessity and mutual need of both of Czechoslovakia's constituent republics to live in a common state, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told journalists here today.

He was speaking before a two-day meeting of members of his government with Premier Petr Pithart and other Czech Government members on the division of powers between them and the Federal Government of Czechoslovakia.

Meciar considers it decisive that the two republics regard themselves as the basis of the common federation, have full authority to run their affairs and delegate to the Federal Government what is jointly advantageous for both of them.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart said: "We do not want to strengthen the governments of the republics to the extent of so to say unscrewing the federation, we seek expert stands as to what is optimal at the level of the federation and what at the level of the constituent republics".

The talks follow a meeting of representatives of the three governments at Trencianske Teplice on government powers on August 8-9 and conclusions made there will be some of the topics at Piestany. They will include asessment of the work of ten commissions of experts on how powers should be divided in various spheres. Great problems are still in the work of the commission dealing with federal taxes, transport and communications.

The Slovak premier said that there is now practically no problem as regards external relations.

The talks are also attended by Federal Deputy Premiers Jozef Miklosko and Pavel Rychetsky while Premier Marian Calfa is expected in Piestany tomorrow.

Czech Youth Council Organizes in Prague

LD0909174590 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 9 (CTK)—A youth council of the Czech Republic, the aim of which is to push through

joint interests and cooperation with state bodies at the level of the Republic and together with the Youth Council of Slovakia also at the federal level, was founded here yesterday.

The constituent session was attended by representatives of 24 children, youth and student organizations.

At the same time the Czechoslovak Youth Council was restructured on the principle of representation of the national youth councils.

The newly created Czech council adopted a stand on the economic reform, stressing that the impacts of the radical reform will affect not only the generation which is responsible for the current state but also young families with small children, organizations of children and young people in general.

The Czech council said in its document that representatives of children and youth should be appointed to specialized organs and commissions of representative bodies which consider bills, laws and other measures.

CSL Spokesman Says Party 'Pressed for Money'

AU0909181390

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 6 September, page 1, carries a 700-word statement by Vladimir Elis, press spokesman of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Presidium entitled "Why Does Not the CSL Have Money?; An Attempt To Liquidate the Party Economically?"

In the statement, Elis explains why the CSL is "pressed for money." First of all, it did not receive a subsidy of 9 million korunas from the now-dissolved National Front, with which it reckoned when drafting its budget for this year. Second, an amendment to the corporate tax law has removed the tax exemption on profits of the CSL-owned LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE-VYSEHRAD publishing house. This measure has reduced the party's revenues by an additional 24 million korunas. Finally, the Federal Assembly Presidium adopted a legal measure imposing a moratorium on the property of political parties and preventing political parties from entrepreneurial activity.

Commenting on this legal measure, Elis says: "The only political party supporting the legal measure is Civic Forum (which is not affected by it); all other political parties are endangered in their very existence. What is the measure all about? Who is served by it? And what aim does it pursue?

"At any rate, it poses a threat to the very substance of the multiparty democratic political system in our country. The CSL leadership and many rank-and-file party members who write us see therein an intention and part of a broader-based campaign directed against our party. If this situation is not dealt with, the CSL will be unable to continue to pay the salaries of its employees, will be forced to close its secretariats, and the activity of one of the parliamentary parties will be paralyzed and reduced to a minimum. Is this perhaps the aim of the Civic Forum deputies, who command a majority in parliament?"

CSL Presidium Member Unhappy With Leadership

AU1209111490

[Editorial report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 7 September, page 1, under the headline "What (Whom) Does the Resignation Help," publishes a 400-word open letter of resignation to the chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] from Dr. Engineer F. Reichel, member of the Presidium of the CSL Central Committee, and the unsigned response by the "party leadership."

According to the "(ce)"-signed introduction, on 6 September Reichel asked for his letter to be published and, because it concerns the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE editorial staff, it is published in this daily, with the other party being provided with an opportunity to respond.

Reichel complains that decisions are being made by a narrow group of leaders: he is resigning from the party Presidium, he says, because "more and more fundamental decisions are being made by the 'leadership of the CSL'." The final straw, he adds, was the news about "changes in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE initiated by the 'higher echelon of the party leadership,' whereas, according to the CSL statutes (Section 18), this matter falls entirely within the jurisdiction of the Central Committee Presidium."

The "party leadership" responds by claiming that Reichel's letter is intended to serve a special purpose, and that it is based on a false premise. "The changes were not made by the higher echelon of the party leadership." It was the Presidium that assigned J. Paterova (former deputy chief editor) to a new post, and the other editors were assigned to the new magazine VYVOJ by their employer following a proposal by the higher echelon of the party leadership. Dr. Reichel, the leadership responds, did not raise any objections and "voted for the revival of the magazine." The response concludes with the observation that "Dr. F. Reichel should be rather more careful with his words before he accuses the CSSL leadership of violating the statutes."

Report on Aims of Moravian Autonomy Movement

AU0909171790

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 4 September, page 2 and on 5 September, page 5, publishes in two installments a 900-word interview with Boleslav Barta, chairman of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD/SMS), by Jan Bauer. The place and date of the interview are not given.

In the first installment, entitled "What To Do With the Moravian Nation," Barta is asked to clarify his recent statement (quoted in the referent item) that "if people in Prague insist upon a federation according to the national principle, there will be a Moravian nation here even before the elections." Barta says that the press "distorted my statement somewhat." He merely warned that there is "social tension" in Moravia because the meeting of the Moravian demand for the "autonomous status of Moravia within the framework of a land setup" is being constantly delayed. If Prague continues to be "insensitive" to this Moravian demand and continues to make the national principle a condition for the equal status of Moravia, it will be responsible for the emergence of a Moravian nation even before the elections. "This does not mean that the HSD/SMS claims that there exists a Moravian nation" or that it is the movement's program, Barta explains.

The second installment, entitled "Demand for a Federal Republic," deals with the ideas of Barta's movement about the future of the Czechoslovak state. Barta says that the HSD/SMS campaigns for a "land setup" [zemske usporadani] in the Czech Republic, in which Moravia/Silesia, Bohemia, and Prague would have the status of equal "lands." The movement's final aim is "a Czechoslovak Federal Republic [Ceskoslovenska spolkova republika] without 'and' and without a hyphen." Barta is convinced that the HSD/SMS "will win even the Slovaks for this concept."

In the interview, Barta also cites the results of a survey conducted by the Ethnography Institute of the Masaryk University in Brno earlier this year. It revealed that "about 88 percent of the citizens living in Moravia and Silesia consider themselves Moravians." Of those who consider themselves Moravians, 53.7 percent regard Moravians as a nation and the rest as an "independent branch of the Czech nation." Barta stresses that this situation needs to be taken into account in pondering the state's future arrangement.

Liberal Democrats Break From Civic Forum

AU1109205390 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Sep 90 p 1

[CTK and "(R)"-signed report: "A Bloc Instead of the Forum"]

[Text] Prague—The Liberal Democratic Party's break with the Civic Forum was confirmed at the party's extraordinary conference on Saturday [8 September]. In its adopted statement the Liberal Democratic Party reproaches the Civic Forum for allowing the so-called "old structures" to survive and for not succeeding in creating a strong government or a realistic political force which would be a support for the governments. According to the statement, only a bloc composed of democratically oriented parties and movements outside the Civic Forum and the realistic forces within the Civic Forum can provide such a force.

Party representatives, led by its chairman Emanuel Mandler, informed journalists that the party is not against cooperation, including forming a coalition, with any movements prior to the local elections, with the exception of the extreme left-wing.

Conflict Between CSL Leadership, CSL Daily

AU0909142690

[Editorial Report] Czech newspapers from 4 to 6 September publish reports dealing with recent developments in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, daily of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL].

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 4 September, page 3, under the headline "On the Situation in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE," carries a 350-word statement by a group of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists and employees. The signatories of the statement express their "deep indignation and protest" at the decision of the CSL leadership to "recall" nine journalists from the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE staff, ostensibly to prepare the publication of VYVOJ [Development], a new CSL journal. They point out that the party leadership's action is in breach of "Christian ethical principles and basic norms of decency," and accuse the party leadership of seeking to reinforce their positions at the cost of severely weakening the editorial staff. The authors of the statement also criticize the CSL leadership's interference in the work of the newspaper and the "tendency to turn LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE into a fossil in which there prevails a tense atmosphere of distrust and blind obedience not to the ideals of the party but to the personal ambitions of its representatives."

The statement is followed by a 500-word reaction signed by J. Cerny, CSL general secretary. Cerny stresses that the decision to "transfer" journalists from LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE to the "preparatory group" which is to work on a new party journal is fully within the competence of the party leadership and does not violate any legal provisions. He expresses understanding for the negative reaction of the journalists concerned but rejects their "refusal to implement warranted decisions and assigned duties under the cloak of journalistic independence and press freedom." He reiterates that LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE is subordinated to the CSL leadership and appeals to the signatories of the above statement to reconsider their attitude.

Prague PRACE in Czech on 5 September, pages 1 and 3, carries a 500-word Ivan Olenic report on a news conference with a group of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists, which was held in Prague on 4 September. The report is published under the headline "We Will Show You, Democracy!" According to the report, the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists argued that the decision to "transfer" the nine journalists was motivated by the CSL leadership's effort to "get rid of inconvenient people" and a case of "settling of scores." They pointed out that the journal VYVOJ which the journalists are supposed to set up does not have any editorial premises,

any equipment, and is not even registered. The CSL also does not have the money for another party publication. Moreover, VYVOJ is to specialize in foreign affairs, in which none of the journalists concerned has any experience. The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists also complained that, since Josef Bartoncik's return to the CSL leadership, the newspaper has been forced to publish material with which the editorial office disagreed.

The report also mentions that the petition protesting against the CSL leadership's course of action was signed by 22 LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists, including chief editor E. Mach.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 6 September, page 8, carries a 200-word report entitled "Editors on Strike." The report cites a statement by "young LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists" in which they announce a "token strike" [manifestacni stavka] in protest against the CSL leadership. They demand the reinstatement of the "transferred" journalists, the removal of Helena Bastlova from the post of deputy chief editor, and the "start of a genuine dialogue between the publisher and LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE."

Czech Premier Objects to Slovak Ministry

AU1009100590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Sep 90 p 1

["(st)"-signed report: "Communal Elections on 24 November"]

[Excerpts] The fourth meeting of the Czech National Council [CNR] continued yesterday with a debate on the law on elections to communal representative bodies. [passage omitted]

Czech Premier Petr Pithart then replied to questions regarding his speech from the first day of the CNR meeting. The deputies were drawing attention to the rash and, to a certain extent, also high-handed action of the Slovak side, which they documented with the founding of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Relations. They considered the optimal functioning of the federation, based on strong national republics. They also demanded the formulation of a CNR standpoint addressed to the Slovak National Council and moved that the Federal Assembly deal with these issues. [passage omitted]

The premier expressed the conviction that Vladimir Meciar, the premier of the Slovak Republic, is reacting adequately and responsibly to the situation in Slovakia, and not only in Slovakia. The Czech Government intends to be in permanent contact with the Slovak Government, to go to Piestany [to attend intergovernmental talks on 12 and 13 September], to consider the results of the work of the commissions of experts [established to study the division of powers between the federation and the republics], and to present its own proposal for a joint statement. It does not, however, intend to deal with the existence of the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Relations. The friends in Slovakia perhaps did not realize the significance of the establishment of such a body of state administration, he said.

The CNR meeting continues today.

Meciar Comments on Slovak International Ties

LD0909224390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Text] Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, in his address on television today, recalled some specific steps toward engaging Slovakia in international relations. An important role is played in this process by the newly created Ministry of International Relations of the Slovak Republic, the concept of which is not in variance with the concept of the unified state policy. It is assumed—for linguistic reasons abroad, where the term interstate and international has the same meaning—that the name of the ministry will be changed.

In his television address, the Slovak premier also pointed to the complex situation in direct economic cooperation between individual enterprises and foreign partners. Potential partners have postponed this cooperation till our legal amendments and guarantees for the protection of capital are solved. We will, however, have to overcome by our own efforts and work the immediate period of changes, Vladimir Meciar stressed in his television address today.

Slovak National Party Congress Opens

LD0909155490 Prague CTK in English 1355 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 9 (CTK)—The second congress of the Slovak National Party, attended by more than 300 delegates, started in Kosice, East Slovakia, today.

On the agenda were party activities, tasks for the forthcoming period, approval of new rules, a program statement and election of new bodies.

Chairman of the party Vitazoslav Moric read a report on party activities which pointed out its considerable success in the June elections but dealt also with problems which the party has in the "defence of the Slovak national and state interest." He appealed to the Slovak Government and the Slovak National Council (parliament) to end delays in connection with enacting the Slovak language as the only administrative language in Slovakia. He criticized the whole concept of the economic reform.

Vitazoslav Moric was reelected chairman of the Slovak National Party.

Slovak Congress of Public Against Violence Held

LD0909143490 Prague CTK in English 1328 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Text] Bratislava Sept 8 (CTK)—A Slovak congress of the Public Against Violence (PAV) [VPN] movement

was held here yesterday. Its participants discussed a report on activities of the Slovak Council and the Coordinating Centre.

Fedor Gal was elected chairman of the Slovak Council and Juraj Flamik chairman of the Coordinating Centre of the Public Against Violence.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar stressed that this civic movement and other political parties cannot rely only on government measures as the government is in a very complicated situation now. He also mentioned some disputes among government members and assured the delegates that even if the coalition partners withdraw, the government promises to fulfil the program of the Public Against Violence.

Participants in the congress were addressed also by Civic Forum representative Petr Kucera who stressed that in spite of some differences in the development in the two republics, the aims of the two partner movements are identical. The Civic Forum and Public Against Violence initiatives must be directed against nomenclatures which continue to disseminate uncertainty, he pointed out.

The congress was also attended by deputies for the Public Against Violence - Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Jan Langos.

Moric Denies Anticonstitutional Activity

AU1009083990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party, by an unidentified CTK reporter on 5 September; place not given: "Moric: What We Are Doing Is Not Anticonstitutional"]

[Text] Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNS], has made himself known to citizens in recent weeks by his speeches. His most recent speech was delivered in Ruzomberok during the commemoration of Andrej Hlinka and concerned relations between Czechs and Slovaks. In an interview given to a CTK reporter yesterday he said, among other things, that the main issue for him is a free Slovak Republic which, under the present arrangement, is impossible.

[Reporter] In your opinion, how many Slovak citizens are in favor of the establishment of such a republic?

[Moric] More than half a million citizens voted for our party in the elections and you certainly know that there are more and more supporters of our program.

[Reporter] Do you think that all the SNS voters are in favor of this arrangement?

[Moric] It is difficult to say. Whoever is in favor of this arrangement, is in favor of it, and whoever is not, is not. I do not speak for anyone; I have never spoken for anyone. I have never asserted anyone else's views.

[Reporter] Do you not think, for example, that by your speech in Ruzomberok you violated the deputy's oath which you swore in parliament?

[Moric] I do not think I violated it because, in essence, I am only striving—and the SNS also—for what the Constitution permits. It is clearly written in the preamble to constitutional law No. 143 on the Czechoslovak Federation that what we are doing is not anticonstitutional.

Slovak Poll Indicates Parties' Support Unity

LD0709162890

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 7 September carries a five-minute interview with Michal Berko, deputy director of Slovak radio, on the results of a public opinion poll in Slovakia conducted by the radio research office. The poll, taken last week and processed by the unit only yesterday, showed that only 10 percent of the Slovak population thinks that Slovak independence is the right course.

Berko continues: "Our poll also asked: who would you vote into the Slovak National Council today? Six parties in the Slovak parliament have suffered a clear downturn in support, with the biggest drop—10 percent—suffered by Public Against Violence. The Christian Democratic Movement has slipped by six percent, and Coexistence by two percent. Voters' support for the communists also slipped by one percent. The only party which registered an increase in support is the Democrats, but that increase is also only one percent."

Asked what has happened to the lost votes, Berko says: "The number of 'do not knows' has increased considerably—almost all the lost votes have transferred to that category."

With a view to the local elections in November, Berko gives the standing of the political parties as follows: "In the lead is Public Against violence, which would get almost 20 percent of the votes; second is the Slovak National Party with just over 17 percent; in third place are the Christian Democrats with about 13 percent, and fourth are the communists, with just over 12 percent of the vote."

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Former Head of Committee Comments on Stasi Probe

AU1209181190 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 10 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Dankward Brinksmeier, former chairman of the People's Chamber committee investigating former State Security Service (Stasi) deputies, by Erwin Jurtschitsch and Olaf Opitz; place and date not given: "Special Operations Officers Had Access to Files"]

[Text] [DER MORGEN] Before you were appointed chairman of the People's Chamber investigation committee, a general examination allegedly took place of files containing names of deputies compiled by the Stasi state security system. Numerous deputies were suspected of having had Stasi links, but their exact number has never been indicated. Do you know the number?

[Brinksmeier] The committee never found out whether all People's Chamber deputies were checked during the first examination. There is no list with all of the names, because every People's Chamber group prepared a list of the files that had to be examined in order to obtain information about certain activities. The list of names only reveals that the Stasi prepared a file on the deputies.

[DER MORGEN] Was the committee briefed by the People's Chamber groups on the results of the investigations?

[Brinksmeier] At the beginning, several groups refused to place the protocols at the committee's disposal. So the committee asked the People's Chamber Presidium to clarify this matter. The Peoples' Chamber president then sent a letter to all party chairmen. However, they did not react. We never saw the protocols. The People's Chamber Presidium did not ensure the realization of its decision. Members of the People's Chamber groups prevented this.

[DER MORGEN] You tried to win access to the files. You were impeded in these efforts. Did the committee ever get access to files of individual deputies?

[Brinksmeier] Not during my chairmanship. I do not know whether this has become possible now. At one point during my chairmanship, I was about to get access to the files. However, the interior minister expressed legal doubts exactly at the point when we could have acted and wanted to act. We had a preliminary list at this point, and we wanted to inspect Stasi files in various bezirks. This was banned by a circular—which was clearly an executive measure. Officially we were told that this was not possible for formal reasons. The information that we needed from the central archive was compiled on index cards. To speed things up, we had the cards photocopied and protocols made. We were not allowed to use the photocopies under the pretext that it is not allowed to make photocopies. This makes it very clear that formal reasons were used to impede our work and legal ones were used as a pretext.

[DER MORGEN] Do you think that it will be possible to prevent deputies with a Stasi past from entering the new all-German parliament?

[Brinksmeier] Well, as a precautionary measure, one could oblige the Peoples' Chamber groups not to nominate a deputy who has come under the slightest suspicion. The list of names indicates that there is a suspicion. Another variant is also conceivable: The deputies could agree on the examination of their past. Deputies who want to enter the German Bundestag should commit themselves with their signature to allow this. They should be aware of the risk they are taking in case they worked for the Stasi in the past.

[DER MORGEN] Who should examine the files of the deputies of the new German parliament?

[Brinksmeier] Nobody is in a position to do that now. The new all-German parliament would have to make a decision.

[DER MORGEN] Would not a much greater risk be involved if one allowed deputies to go to Bonn and had the files examined by people there?

[Brinksmeier] Of course one does not know who will examine the files and how they can be used for blackmail. However, I believe that parliamentary control is better than any other control. The FRG has a well-functioning administration, as opposed to the GDR, where the authority which would be responsible for the control is headed by an interior minister who thwarts its efforts.

[DER MORGEN] Was the list of the names of the government members complete?

[Brinksmeier] It is not possible for the committee to find out whether all government members were checked during the first examination. In its letter to Mrs. Bergmann-Pohl, the committee stressed that the prime minister must ensure that all ministers of his cabinet are examined. However, we never received an answer.

[DER MORGEN] Do you rule out that it was possible for senior deputies or members of the government to simply "eliminate" their files?

[Brinksmeier] No, I do not rule that out.

[DER MORGEN] Does this mean that Stasi files no longer exist on these persons?

[Brinksmeier] Yes.

[DER MORGEN] There have been speculations that three central file cards of two senior government members and an opposition leader of the People's Chamber no longer exist. Do you know about this?

[Brinksmeier] No. But it is about time to make investigations and clarify whether this is true. It is the interior minister's task to do this and to inform the public.

[DER MORGEN] The interior minister has accused you of delaying clarification to a great extent. How do you see this?

[Brinksmeier] This is a diversion. Attack is the best defense. If somebody is to blame for that, it is the People's Chamber Presidium. It knew about every individual step of the special committee and was involved in the decisionmaking process. The Presidium did not do anything to clarify the competences and to ensure their realization.

[DER MORGEN] On the basis of what information do you think that WELT AM SONNTAG claimed that two of your aides, Mr. Schwalm and Mr. Ewert, were Stasi agents? This suspicion was reinforced by Interior Minister Diestel.

[Brinksmeier] First of all, you should ask the paper. Second, suspicions are only possible on the basis of files. Third, access to the files is within the interior minister's responsibility.

In addition, it was known to the paper that Mr. Schwalm is not one of my aides. The article was aimed at discrediting me. Since they did not find anything suspicious about me personally, they tried to damage my reputation by accusing my aides. Mr. Ewert has already filed a complaint because of slander. However, he has nothing to do with the committee investigating the past of the deputies. The committee includes only one representative each from every People's Chamber group.

However, something else is much more sensational: One official who was involved in the examination of files by the special committee was a "special operations officer" [OibE], as has been proved. The problem of the so-called OibE's has been known to Mr. Diestel since he took office. I prepared a final report which reveals the need for immediate measures to prevent the Stasi from continuing to be active in the GDR's administration. Interior Minister Diestel did not do anything. Now it has been proved that OibE's are active in the sphere where files are inspected.

[DER MORGEN] Minister Diestel claims that he has never received the list of OibE's. Is that true?

[Brinksmeier] This is due to his lack of leadership. He could have obtained the list if he had wanted to.

[DER MORGEN] Were you taken by surprise by the decision to remove you from your position as chairman of the investigation committee?

[Brinksmeier] I was surprised that the People's Chamber Presidium agreed to this. However, I was not surprised that some people wanted to eliminate me. Once the work of the temporary investigating committee is limited by a very complicated procedure, one can easily take a second step and tell the special committee for the dissolution of the Stasi what it is and is not allowed to do. I tried to prevent this development.

[DER MORGEN] Did the investigation committees and citizens' committees make political mistakes?

[Brinksmeier] This is difficult to assess. Maybe this is the price for a bloodless revolution. Who knows whether the Ministry for State Security would have launched attacks if the dissolution of the Stasi had been carried out more consistently in January. I do not want to scare people, but countless weapons are still circulating. The interior minister should inform the public whether or not he actually succeeded in seizing all weapons of the state security system.

[DER MORGEN] Do you not think that rumors about Stasi links should have been rejected immediately?

[Brinksmeier] It would have been easy for the State Committee for the Dissolution of the Stasi to create a body designed to reject such accusations after quickly checking the files on the basis of arguments and facts and not on the basis of assumptions and witch-hunting.

Stasi Links in Office of Criminal Investigations

AU1209144790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 12 Sep 90 p 5

["Rt."-signed report: "Secret Stasi Cooperation in Office of Criminal Investigations"]

[Text] Berlin, 11 Sep—According to the "Kontraste" magazine of the ARD First German Television Network, "officers on special duties" (OibE) of the former Ministry for State Security (Stasi) managed to achieve high-ranking positions even under GDR Interior Minister Diestel (Christian Democratic Union). The magazine reported that even the head of the office of the State Committee for the Dissolution of the Ministry for State Security, Dieter Stein, is said to have been a secret Stasi officer. Even a number of the staff of the Central Office of Criminal Investigations, which was newly set up by Diestel, are said to have been on the payroll of the State Security Service, some of them even in leading positions.

According to statements made by Diestel, he received the list of names of OibE who were active in his area only last Friday [7 September]. Concerning the accusations in this connection, the GDR Interior Ministry has stated that Diestel will conduct "personal talks" with the members of the Interior Ministry in question within the next few days. After the conclusion of these "checks, decisions will be made concerning the resulting consequences, including the immediate resignation from the service on a constitutional basis," it was stated.

Meanwhile, six university professors of East Berlin's Humboldt University, who worked for the GDR State Security Service, were dismissed, effective immediately, and disciplinary proceedings were initiated against them. This was revealed by the rector of the university, Fink, to West Berlin Science Senator Riedmueller (Social Democratic Party of Germany). These steps were taken after the People's Chamber presented a list of names of former Stasi members to the university. Another seven scientific and other staffers, whose names are also on that list, are still being examined. They will probably be dismissed without notice within the next few days.

Diestel on Remaining Stasi Officers in Ministry

AU1209142890 Hamburg BILD in German 12 Sep 90 p 4

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Stasi Files Were Forged and Sold"; first paragraph is BILD introduction]

[Text] GDR Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel dismissed eight secret Stasi [State Security Service] officers ("special operations officers"—OibE), who had worked incognito in his ministry. Six of them had been employed by the former Stasi ministry. BILD asked Diestel what he is doing about other high-ranking Stasi officers who are said to be working close to him.

[Diestel] One can remove a Stasi man only when he is recognized. I received the information that Stasi officers are allegedly working close to me only last Friday [7 September]. In the case of Mr. Stein, head of the office of the Committee for the Dissolution of the Stasi, I had to note that he himself had asked to quit before the discovery. He has already gone.

[Brinkmann] Why did you not have these people checked before appointing them to such important posts?

[Diestel] I cannot. This would be highly illegal. The Council of Ministers decides exactly who is checked on and who it is permitted to check on.

[Brinkmann] Do you now have a list of the OibE?

[Diestel] No. I have a list of people who allegedly were OibE, according to the People's Chamber committee. This list now has to be examined.

[Brinkmann] What will happen to these people?

[Diestel] We will talk to every one of them. But this list is not necessarily correct.

[Brinkmann] Why do you say that?

[Diestel] As far as I know, a great number of files were destroyed and changed.

[Brinkmann] And sold?

[Diestel] Yes. I have reliable information that members of citizens' committees sold files. In some cases investigations are being carried out now. In one case, a member of such a committee is even on the run.

[Brinkmann] Have some files also been forged?

[Diestel] This must be assumed.

[Brinkmann] Why was Brinksmeier replaced as chairman of the committee?

[Diestel] Because, among other things, he allowed copies of files to be made for a whole day and wanted to have some of the Stasi files removed without police protection.

Council of Ministers Decides on Stasi File Use

LD1209153190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1214 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers passed a resolution at its session today on how the lists of former members of the Ministry of State Security-Office of State Security [Stasi] should be dealt with in the future. As government spokesman Matthias Gehler said at the regular press conference, the cabinet is requesting the People's Chamber parliamentary investigative committee to hand over the lists of former Stasi employees, particularly of the on special operations officers (OibE), to the relevant ministers.

At the same time the cabinet gave an order, the government spokesman said, that the "proper consequences" should be drawn concerning these people. According to Gehler, they are to be sent on leave immediately and the relevant department heads should have talks with this group of persons. It was "of course, ruled out" that these people should be made into federal German civil servants.

Increased Crimes by Soviet Soldiers in Potsdam

LD1209172790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Criminal acts committed by Soviet Army personnel increased dramatically in the Potsdam area in the first eight months of this year. The total of 409 charges brought against Soviet soldiers showed an increase of 141 compared with the same period last year. This was stated today by the head of the area office of criminal investigations, Wilfred Golz, at a press conference at the Potsdam police headquarters.

The competent military lawyer at the Potsdam garrison of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces, Colonel Dmitriyev, qualified this by pointing out that "proof of involvement of Soviet soldiers was not established in all the offences." The solders were responsible for an average of just three percent of crimes in the area.

About two-thirds of the criminal offenses are thefts, such as breaking into restaurants, shops, or bungelows as well as thefts of vehicles and spare parts. Members of the Soviet Armed Forces caused 95 serious traffic accidents. The number of crimes of violence, such as rape and mugging, is relatively small, according to these statistics.

Commenting on a press article on "illegal arms dealing" by Soviet soldiers, Dmitriyev stated that this is not a problem in the Western Group in general. He described provocative examples of attempts to buy weapons and ammunition from Soviet soldiers in return and exchange for Western money. Attacks by German citizens on Soviet soldiers have also increased rapidly since 1 July. Of the 13 cases this year, there were five in August alone. Director Golz said that organized arms dealing is conceivable, but that so far there are no indications of this.

In general the relations between Soviet soldiers and local inhabitants have worsened, said the colonel, and they will not improve up to the time of the troop withdrawal.

Iraqi Offer of Free Oil Rejected

LD1109181990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on discussion with unidentified official on the very small likelihood that the USSR will switch off the oil tap to Eastern Europe and Hungary]

[Reporter] We always need oil. What do you say to the Iraqi offer of free oil?

[Unidentified official] The Hungarian Government decided to support the UN sanctions, and we adhere to this and we do not even study this offer in a substantive way.

Iraq was also an important source of oil for us in the past, and if the situation is normalized then, of course, we shall make our decision in that light. At this stage this is not the (?case), this is not an option for the Hungarian Foreign Trade Department.

Official Says Soviet Oil Cutoff 'Unimaginable'

LD1109144790 Budapest MTI in English 1126 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Budapst, September 11, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungarian experts say Polish press allegations that the Soviet Union will not deliver a single drop of oil to the former socialist countries in 1991 are almost impossible to believe.

A Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations official told ECONEWS that negotiations with the Soviet partners have not actually begun on next year's goods deliveries.

On a preliminary shopping list, the Soviet Union held out the prospect of exporting 4 million tonnes of oil to Hungary in 1991.

The Hungarians would like to see 6.48 million tonnes of oil delivered from the Soviet Union, though, he same quantity the Soviet partner was to have exported here this year.

Soviet oil deliveries to Hungary in 1990 will now only reach 5.1 million tonnes.

Should the Polish reports prove true, this would mean downright political discrimination against the Central European countries currently undergoing reforms.

Such a measure could also further raise the world market price of oil, since all former socialist countries would then have to buy their oil mainly from the Middle East.

In an interview with the Budapest daily NEPSZABADSAG, Mr Istvan Zsengeller, general director of the National Oil and Gas Trust (OKGT), said the reports must be based on some sort of misunderstanding

No notification to this effect has been sent to the OKGT, he confirmed.

At preliminary talks, the Soviet partner offered to supply 4 million tonnes of oil to Hungary next year, and talks on dotting the i's and crossing the t's are still going on.

No reports of the negotiations having hit any snags have been received as yet.

Mr Zsengeller added that another reason he did not believe the allegations was that maintaining Soviet deliveries is a common interest: from next year on, trade between Hungary and the Soviet Union will be conducted in convertible currency, so in this respect, it will make no difference to the Soviets whether their customers are former Comecon partners or other countries.

The other things is that delivery to central Europe can be effectuated via the existing pipelines connecting the Soviet Union will the central European countries, whilst Soviet oil can be shipped to Western Europe mostly only by water.

The exact quantity of deliveries is a different problem: this could well be a sticky issue worth discussing, since it all depends on what products Hungary can export to the Soviet Union.

"Hungary's target is to achieve this year's (oil) export quantities of 5-5.1 million tonnes next year, too.

"We shall, of course, have to look into what's behind the Polish news reports but I think a complete halt in deliveries is absolutely unimaginable," Mr Zsengeller said.

The Adria oil pipeline has the capacity to handle 10 million tonns a year, and would thus be capable of meeting Hungarian demands, but it is still an open question as to whether Hungary will have about 1.5 billion USD [U.S. dollars] to spare in currency (going on current oil prices) to buy such oil.

Hungarian President Calls For Iraqi Withdrawal

NC0709124890 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Our deputy foreign minister for European and American affairs met with the Hungarian president in Budapest yesterday. During this meeting our deputy foreign minister conveyed our president's friendly message to the Hungarian president and pointed to the need for expanding relations between the two countries. He described the developments in East Europe as positive and referred to them as the effective grounds for expanding the two countries' future relations.

The Hungarian president pointed to the importance of our deputy foreign minister's visit to Budapest and expressed the Hungarian government's interest and desire for further cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Hungarian president renewed the invitation

to Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani to pay an official visit to Hungary and called for expanding cooperation between the two countries, specifically in the field of energy. He also expressed concern over the Persian Gulf crisis and called for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the area.

Tokes Interviewed on Hungarian-Romanian Relations

AU1309103690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Presbyterian Bishop Laszlo Tokes by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas; in Budapest on 9 September: "To Benefit Romania, Hungary, and the Cause of Democracy"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Laszlo Tokes, the presbyterian bishop of Nagyvarad [Oradea], who is currently in a Budapest hospital after a car accident in Hungary, gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG on the most topical issues of Hungarian-Romanian relations.

[Farkas] Our first question, of course, is about your health. How do you feel and how are you trying to overcome this difficult situation?

[Tokes] I would say that the spiritual and intellectual ordeals of the past year and the current physical trials represent some sort of psychological unity. Although my health is improving by the day and I am becoming stronger as a result of the rehabilitation treatment, this does not change the fact that I will not be allowed to stand up for months. Fortunately, I have faith and patience in overcoming physical suffering. Step by step, one can really face up to great problems, and, thank God, I am managing to do this much better. I express my thanks to the officials in Hungary who also accepted me as a sick person, and I feel at home here in Hungary; and the people here console me, send me messages, and treat me, while the Hungarian state takes care of me. All this greatly eases my distress.

[Farkas] In this situation, are you able to follow events in the world and in our immediate surroundings?

[Tokes] I listen to the radio, I have newspapers here, and I also watch television. All this has its therapeutic effects. Only physically do I miss events out there, but "I am there with you in spirit" as it is customary to say. In my thoughts and spirit, I fully participate in the events of the world and of this country, and I do not feel excluded from events.

[Farkas] Indeed, many domestic and foreign developments are taking place now, in which, I believe, you are also interested. Restoration or non-restoration of the Trianon memorial is the major domestic policy issue in Hungary today. What is your opinion about this dilemma?

[Tokes] Those who are in favor of this plan try to reduce it to a mere historical issue. They say that everyone has the right to experience joy, sorrow, or mourning. Undoubtedly, any country has every reason to feel sorry about losing two thirds of its territory and a third of its population, whatever the circumstances. Any nationalism, no matter how rampant, should respect this sorrow. Even if this is a day of rejoicing for the people in the surrounding countries, they must accept the fact that it is a day of mourning for Hungary. With this limitation, I would probably have no objection whatsoever to the erection of a Trianon memorial, especially the erection of a newly built "pristine" memorial. However, given the past and the connotations of the group of statues in question and all that is connected with it—revisionism, some causes that led to World War II, the suffering of millions, and the prevailing hatred—I can only oppose the restoration of this memorial, irrespective of who is right. Then, if we consider the current circumstances, the extremist nationalist trends, and the intensification of the tone—albeit not the actual power—of this nationalism, I must place this intention of restoration in the category of extremist manifestations, and as such, I must reject it.

[Farkas] In Romania memorial events were held to mark the 50th anniversary of the Vienna Award. What is your opinion about this, the Hungarians' attitude, and the whole affair?

[Tokes] The Vatra Romaneasca as such is but a pale imitation of a different Vatra which exists elsewhere. In my view, the real Vatra exists in the Romanian political power center, and the so-called cultural organization is only a pale imitation of this real Vatra. If we accept this premise, and it seems as if there is a real basis for accepting it, then unfortunately we are talking about much more than small extremist groups initiating some meetings. The fact that the Romanian state accorded official status to the remembrance of the Vienna Award proves all this. It also confirms my earlier belief that the Vatra receives inspiration from somewhere else and the extremist groups are merely the mouthpiece of an appalling central policy. In this respect, we must repeatedly denounce the series of events connected with the anniversary of the Vienna Award because we are talking here about an extremist Romanian policy, rather than extremist groups, which is in flagrant contradiction with the declared principles of Europeanism, democracy, and revolutionary spirit—principles monopolized by the central leadership. In my view, this is a direct continuation of the Ceausescu policy. Given the fact that Ceausescu drifted into an increasingly extremist dictatorial direction, I would also presume that this remembrance had already been planned before, and they have now heated it up. Although they have failed to commemorate this anniversary for decades, this event came at the right time now and it fit in well with the enemy image that Ceausescu had been promoting for a long time. The first manifestation of this policy was the Lancranjan book in 1982. In other words, this was now the culmination of a

process which totally contradicts the spirit of rapprochement, and, realizing this, the Romanian Parliament and President Iliescu nevertheless declared this rapprochement in an ambiguous way in a Parliament meeting and in a television speech.

[Farkas] The same type of background machinations must have been behind the intention to blame the Hungarians for the explosion at the Fagaras Chemical Works.

[Tokes] Allow me to answer this question in a broader context. I will refer to the recent message sent by President Iliescu to Hungarian President Arpad Goncz proposing a high-level presidential meeting. In my opinion, we must analyze some of the recent ambiguous manifestations of Romanian policy in this connection. We saw, after all, how the Romanian Parliament and Iliescu took a positive stand concerning democracy, rapprochement, and European unity. At the same time, the restricted but incendiary character of the commemoration of the Vienna Award sharply contradicts all this. In Yugoslavia, President Iliescu proposed the establishment of a zone of confidence in the Balkans aimed at solving the national minority issue. The Romanian Foreign Ministry's reply to the Hungarian declaration on the Vienna Award—a reply in which they attack "Hungarian revanchism," the "Hungarian policy reminiscent of Horthyism," and the "Hungarian extremist forces" in a totally inexplicable and unqualified way—is again in sharp contradiction to all this. The Romanian criticism directed at Finland contradicts their message to Arpad Goncz. As if the Hungarian prime minister could be held responsible for the position of the Finnish prime minister on a given issue. Well, in my opinion, the accusations of an alleged sabotage action in Fagaras are also part of all this. While we are listening to verbal declarations on rapprochement, the settling of Romanian-Hungarian relations, and the Hungarian national minority issue, another savage provocation is directed against the Hungarians. What I want to say here is that Ceausescu was similarly ambiguous. While he declared himself a fighter for peace and was constantly speaking of Europe and pretending to follow a pro-American and pro-Western policy most irritable to the Soviets, he acted quite differently at home. This is the technique of deception: A plain thing, an opposite thing, a positive, and a negative thing, a cold and a hot thing—completely misleading public opinion. This policy is the continuation of Ceausescu tactics. As for the present, the credibility of this appeal for a presidential meeting is very questionable. The memory of the Grosz-type failure in Arad haunts us. [Reference to former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party head Karoly Grosz' meeting with Ceausescu in Arad] Summing it up, it seems that anti-Hungarian feeling is the only strong card of the present official Romanian policy. They have nothing to be proud of on the economic level; they are isolated on the foreign policy level; domestically, they are facing constant demonstrations and an increasing opposition. What can they come up with? They can only come up with the Hungarian issue in this situation and, with this card, they can retouch their political failures. So, although Iliescu's proposal for a meeting with Goncz is commendable and worth noticing in itself, one has, nevertheless, largely to question this proposal, to make sure that it is not again something aimed at pretending to break out of the political isolation, something that we would again helplessly witness, like the meeting in Arad.

[Farkas] This is a delicate situation primarily for the Hungarians living in Romania. In your opinion, how should the Hungarians behave in parliament, in the various counties, and in the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ]?

[Tokes] I think that the greatest failure of the RMDSZ policy is that it is increasingly bound by the forced limitations of the Romanian policy, that is, its behavior, positions, and policy are fully exhausted in its reaction to the aggressive Romanian central policy. The RMDSZ has lost its real identity and its initiative because, just like good soccer, a good policy is based on creating a situation. In other words, the RMDSZ must not only adjust, react, and use its good or bad reflexes against attacks directed against it, but it must also create a situation and must be offensive and creative. Today, in a rather clear situation, the RMDSZ must now reevaluate its current guidelines. Among other things, this is also the reason why I initiated an extraordinary RMDSZ congress in order to determine and formulate a new political strategy in which the RMDSZ can not only play a secondary role but also be a partner in the framework of the Romanian and Hungarian official goverment-level policy. In my opinion, the Hungarian minority in Romania should no longer play second fiddle and they must not passively allow others to decide on this minority's fate, but they should become partners in this endeavor. Therefore, if I may propose something (and I have here a proposal concerning myself too), then I would propose that Budapest greatly take into consideration the RMDSZ and the mere survival and position of the Hungarians in Romania in its answer to Iliescu's proposal; in addition, I—whom the events in Temesvar [Timisoara] and the changes in Romania seemed to have predestined for this—offer my services for the modest role of mediator for improving Romanian- Hungarian relations at any level. I do that because I am convinced that we have no alternative but rapprochement and reconciliation. I would like to contribute to both Romania—and I repeat, Romania—and Hungary, the Hungarian national minority, and through this, to the cause of democracy in general.

Slovene Leader Interviewed on Relations, Border

AU1109114890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Sep 90 pp 1,3

[Report on interview with President of the Slovene League of Communists Milan Kucan by Zoltan Gyore in Budapest on 6 September: "Embellishing the People's Life"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Milan Kucan answered our correspondent's questions:

[Gyore] Hungary has always tried to have good relations with its neighbors, but nowadays Hungary is also accused precisely because we deal with the problems of Hungarians living beyond our borders. What is your opinion about this?

[Kucan] Hungary's concern for the Hungarian minority living in Slovenia is more than understandable. It is also in our interest to promote the improvement of our national minority situation.

[Gyore] Many people urge the opening of new border crossings.

[Kucan] It is a fact that there are very few border crossings between Slovenia and Hungary. The development of our cooperation demands the establishment of a new border crossing, for example at Felsoszolnok and Martinje.

[Gyore] You will also pay a visit to the bishop of Szombathely. Does this visit have any concrete church or political importance?

[Kucan] We regard the religious services held in Slovenian as important. It is the responsibility of the Hungarian state and the task of the Episcopate of Szombathely to make sure that there are enough priests to hold religious services in Slovenian. My task is to promote the ongoing negotiations between the Episcopate of Szombathely and the Episcopate of Maribor.

Hungary, Chile Abolish Visa Requirements

LD1109120290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] For the first time since Hungary and Chile restored diplomatic relations, an official Chilean delegation has visited Hungary. Chilean President Patricio Aylwin received an invitation to visit Budapest and Arpad Goencz was invited to Santiago. Gyoergy Nika represented our program at the news conference held by the Chilean delegation.

[Nika] At the press conference, Edmundo Vargas Carreno, under secretary of foreign affairs, said that everything must be from naught. In spite of this, politicians from the Latin American state trust that there will be rapid results, because the open Hungarian and Chilean economies can constitute a good foundation for cooperation, even in third markets. There are already encouraging relations between the two countries' entrepreneurs. Proof of this is that at the current talks exclusively private capitalists agreed to create the Chilean-Hungarian Economic Chamber in Santiago and later, the equivalent of this here at home. It was also said that Hungarian relations are important for the Chileans because they want to break into other East European markets from here.

It also emerged at the talks that Hungarian and Chilean foreign political endeavors are, to a large extent, identical. Primarily, international respect for human rights and the role of the United Nations must be strengthened, it was emphasized. The negotiating sides agreed that the next station in building relations will be a visit by a Hungarian parliamentary delegation to Chile. At the current meeting obligatory visas were mutually abolished at the moment for diplomatic and official visits. A protocol on scientific-cultural cooperation was also agreed on.

Antall Meets Investment Agency President

LD1209205890 Budapest MTI in English 1926 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received Josio Terasava, executive president of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, [MIGA] and Ghassan El-Rifai, its vice-president.

The meeting dealt with Hungarian investment possibilities for foreign capital. The prime minister stressed the Hungarian Government's high opinion of MIGA's practice of providing guarantees, and its anticipation that unflagging contributions of working foreign capital will be made towards future Hungarian projects.

The meeting was also attended by Gyrogy Matolcsy, state secretary at the prime minister's office.

Goncz Says No Reason for Jeszenszky To Resign

LD1209173990 Budapest MTI in English 1436 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—"There is no legal regulation to compel Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to hand in his resignation after the affair at the September 11 parliamentary session. The main question is whether the minister believes he will still be able to consistently represent Hungary's foreign policy based on consensus. This is not a personal question but a central problem of Hungarian foreign policy," Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, commented on the case.

Goncz pointed out that a consensus was indispensable to pursuing a consistent national foreign policy between the parties of the government coalition and the opposition.

Arpad Goncz, who is considered to be a principal exponent of impartiality, called on everybody to weigh carefully what had been heard in the house. He drew attention to the fact that the interests of the nation are represented by parliament as a whole. The basic conditions for this have to be created as soon as possible by unambiguously clarifying the political and personal questions that have arisen in connection with the affair.

Antall Views Opposition 'Maneuvers'

LD1209194890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Antall by unidentified reporter on the "Newsreel" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] There is not, properly speaking, any constitutional consequence stemming from yesterday afternoon's walkout by the opposition, as such opposition conduct is not unknown in parliamentary practice beyond the Leitha. Our "Newsreel" has nonetheless asked Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to speak about this event.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, yesterday in parliament, the opposition called on your foreign minister to resign. Do you intend to satisfy the request of the opposition?

[Antall] It, of course, has not even occurred to me to dismiss the foreign minister; they began, earlier, to resort to such political devices by demanding and wanting the resignation of the minister of the interior, and then the state secretary for defense. This question cannot even arise. The opposition knows very well that I will not do this. The whole thing is a political device, to which we must become accustomed. It takes place in the same way in any political democracy, they demand the resignation of a minister. Thus, I do not wish to part with the foreign minister, just as I do not wish to part with the minister of the interior or anyone else; I regard the whole thing to be a political move, which, from this viewpoint, has no significance for me.

[Reporter] Today, at the session of the [National Assembly] Foreign Affairs Committee, some opposition deputies said that trust in the Foreign Ministry has been shaken, and in this situation it is not possible to speak of a foreign policy which takes all-national interests into account. What is your opinion of this?

[Antall] It is always expedient to conduct a nation's foreign policy on the basis of consensus; it is necessary to be able to reach an agreement on major issues; and if there is a crisis, a unified foreign political standpoint must be taken, just as the two main parties of the United States are doing now, during the Middle East crisis.

Therefore, if what constitutes consensus in foreign policy is that we have heard nothing in the past weeks other than criticism of the government's foreign policy, comments on our foreign relations, and on our trips abroad which we made in the country's interest, then I do not know the extent to which this could be regarded as a multiparty foreign policy. If the opposition judges that it cannot support this foreign policy, then, indeed, there will not be a foreign policy based on consensus. One thing is certain: If anyone from the opposition believes that he can remove certain members of government in various political situations, through personal or personalized attacks, he is wrong. Part of my basic political outlook is that within a government or within a party, or within a party alliance, when the political opponent attacks and addresses personal attacks, these must never be satisfied, and one must never take fright from such political maneuvers of the opposition. I consider this to be a completely incorrect political strategy; I already said this in parliament in the Kalman Keri affair, and I said it on other occasions. So this is what I can reply to all these questions. [end recording]

Assembly Session Resumes, Approves Appointments

LD1109113590 Budapest MTI in English 1012 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 11 (MTI)—The National Assembly resumed its plenary session on Tuesday. The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] nominated Gyula Gaal for an AFD member of parliament in the place of Arpad Goncz, who had been appointed president of the republic. The nomination was approved by parliament.

Dr. Laszlo Surjan, minister of social welfare of the party, was approved representing the Christian Democatic People's Party in the place of Sandor Keresztes, honorary president of the party, who had been appointed ambassador to the Vatican.

Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, announced that the government called for the urgent debate of the bill on the legal status of civil servants. The bill is currently being discussed by the related parliamentary committee and is to be included in the agenda afterwards.

Parliament continued the debate on the amendment to the bill on company transformation (relating to the privatization of state-owned companies).

Szuros, Jeszenszky Address National Assembly

LD1209090790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1602 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Interpellation by Dr. Matyas Szuros, Hungarian Socialist Party deputy, and reply by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Szuros] Mr. Speaker, esteemed Mr. Geza Jeszenszky, esteemed National Assembly. The subject of my interpellation is the following: What does the government intend to do to place our conrtacts with the Soviet Union onto new bases, and what is it doing concretely during the course of the present transitional period to eliminate the misunderstanding and confusion arising in our bilateral relations? Has the Foreign Ministry started working out a conception and plan of action in this regard, and if so, what is the essence of this? [passage omitted]

In recent times, due to various manifestations—clear sometimes misunderstandable, or offensive statements—prompted by internal politics, not weighed up

adequately regarding their international effects, confusions have arisen in Hungarian-Soviet relations, and signs of mistrust have increased. I think this does not benefit anyone. This can give rise to the strange situation where a non-parliamentary small party is trying to act as sole advocate of Hungarian-Soviet relations, and it hardly has any competitors, in a good sense, in this. This infers that a kind of vacuum has been created here, the filling of which must be undertaken in the first place by the government.

It can be discerned of course, that in almost all our relations with the neighboring countries, there are problems and newly formed confusions. It is my conviction that in the Hungarian foreign policy and economic relations system, which is being restructured, the Soviet Union will also have an important role in the future, if we want balanced and not once again one-sided international relations. It is worth reflecting on the energy with which the large Western companies are trying to get into the Soviet market, even if the economic situation there is complicated. So, why should we give up or share our positions, or at least risk the confidence of our partners? With our cooperation build on the principles of equality and mutual advantages, fruitful, good-neighbourly relations can be created. [passage omitted]

[Dornbach] Thank you. Foreign Minister Dr. Geza Jeszenszky will reply to the interpellation.

[Jeszenszky] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed House, esteemed Mr. Deputy Szuros. In the government program, we set as our aim that we endeavor to create balanced, correct, good-neighborly relations, based on equality, with our neighboring large power, the Soviet Union. We endeavor to place both our political and our economic relations on new bases. [passage omitted]

We strive to cleanse our contacts from the forms which have outlived themselves, from outmoded agreements, methods; but it is our intention to keep all those vlaues on which we can build in the interest of wide-ranging neighborly cooperation. [passage omitted]

The work of foreign political experts, which is under way here in the Foreign Ministry and also in the Soviet Union, aims at placing relations on new bases, making outmoded, obsolete agreements, contracts, legally invalid, and where it is our interest, to replace these with new ones. Having concluded the appropriate preparations, in the near future we will propose the creation of a bilateral Hungarian-Soviet agreement, based on mutual interest and security, built on the democratic, equal principles of good-neighborly relations.

I would also like to indicate to the esteemed House that the preparation of another Hungarian-Soviet high-level meeting and foreign ministerial exchange is also on the agenda. At these, the long term and timely questions of Hungarian-Soviet contacts and cooperation will be equally on the agenda.

Esteemed House, in contrast with Matyas Szuros, my opinion is that Hungarian-Soviet relations, which are gradually being restructured—narrowed in some areas—are not free of problems, but in their entirety are good. These are characterized, today more than ever before, rather by openness. [passage omitted]

Also, the claim by Deputy Szuros that the problems which can be seen in Hungarian-Soviet relations—the mistrust—have arisen for the major part in the past few months, cannot be upheld. It can be proven that the problems arising today, almost without exception, can be led back to the artificially supressed contradictions of the earlier period, its distorted policies and practice, and also can be related directly to the representatives of this. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that certain politicians, mass media organs, should show greater restraint and self-control. In their statements, they should show greater responsibility regarding questions which directly or indirectly affect Hungarian-Soviet relations.

The government and the Foreign Ministry, in its sphere of competence, wish to reassuringly settle Hungarian-Soviet relations, not for a temporary, short term, but in the long term, in accordance with the interests of the country, too. This also goes for Hungarian-Soviet economic relations. [passage omitted]

I consider it important Deputy Szuros could identify with the relevant part of the government program, and express his conviction that the Soviet Union will also have an important role in the Hungarian system of relations regarding foreign policy and economics in the future.

Esteemed National Assembly. We are conducting circumspect construction of direct contacts with the individual Soviet member states, republics. [passage omitted: positive reaction to visit of Ukrainian foreign minister to Budapest; expectations attached to Goncz visit to Kiev and Uzhgorod at the end of month]

We intend an important role for cooperation along the border. We wish to improve the conditions of Hungarian-Soviet border and small border trade.

I do not wish to dwell on the fact that I find a little strange what sounded like—although I might have misunderstood—praise, acknowledgement of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and Gyula Thurmer's activity in Moscow. [commotion in hall] If this is not so, then please excuse me, you worded this in a very subtle way, this is what I understood.

Apart from this, and this does not belong to my reply, I can responsibly state that it is my conviction that this government and the Foreign Ministry under my leadership, I myself, in no way contributed to any kind of deterioration in our relations with the neighboring countries. On the contrary, in very many respects, I can speak of a significant improvement.

In conclusion, with the withdrawal of Soviet troops, our country's complete sovereignty will be restored. We are trying to settle the questions of financial accounting that are linked to the withdrawal, that correspond to our interests but that is mutually acceptable. It is not down to us that to date we have not managed to reach agreement.

Esteemed House, I hope I have managed to shed light before you, and before the esteemed deputy on the fact that the government is working, also in contact with the Soviet Union, on the basis of a determined conception and plan of action. Thank you very much.

Culture Ministry State Secretary Replaced

LD1209192890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] With the prime minister's permission, President Arpad Goncz has relieved Miklos Lukats of his post of political state secretary in the Ministry of Culture and Public Education, and simultaneously appointed him political state secretary in the prime minister's office. The head of state appointed Kata Beke, national assembly deputy from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, as political state secretary in the Ministry of Culture and Public Education. The assignments are valid from 15 September.

Welfare Minister Surjan on Government Coalition

AU1209094690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Sep 90 p 5

[Interview with Laszlo Surjan, welfare minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, by Bela Kovacs in Tata on 7 September 90: "We Condemn Any Ranting"]

[Text] Laszlo Surjan visited Komarom-Esztergom County on 7 September. After his professional visit to the county hospital, Surjan took part in the electoral meeting of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], organized in the training camp of Tata.

Before the beginning of the event, the minister granted our newspaper a brief interview.

[Kovacs] More and more frequently, the opinion is voiced that the government coalition is "being put to the test", and that it might be weakened in the near future.... Do you agree with that idea?

[Surjan] No, I disagree. First of all, I think this coalition is stable. Some peoples' more-or-less thoughtless actions have been interpreted by outsiders and by the press as the sign of a fundamental instability in the coalition. No such tension can be felt within the government, which encompasses all three party leaders.

[Kovacs] Does that mean that neither the debate about the land reform, nor the varied reactions to the "Justitia" Plan [a government plan to bring culpable members of the former government to justice] could cause any tension?

[Surjan] In a modern democracy, there are, in fact, two policy-making bodies; the parties, and the government. A coalition government is better than a single-party government because different viewpoints can be discussed within the government. That also applies to our government. In such a situation, if one party represents an issue in a striking way, it can do so in the knowledge that if there are any excesses, the coalition partners will iron them out. This also represents an unprecedented security device, because an opinion can be formulated more freely, and, in fact, the internal "ironing out" serves the general good.

[Kovacs] From the outside, it looks as though your party is the one playing this calm and balanced role—the party that does the "ironing out", if you like....

[Surjan] Perhaps that is the case because we condemn any ranting, if I may use that expression. We believe in thinking things through. We also apply that principle to our party; we have our worries, too, but we try to solve these problems by being prepared to compromise within the party, in a way.

Defense Minister on Army Objectives

AU1309110890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Karoly Freesz and Peter Vajda in Budapest, date not given: "A Memorial Cannot Be Erected With Stained Symbols"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Lajos Fur granted our newspaper an exclusive interview in his office last week. This is a (somewhat shortened) account of Fur's answers to the questions raised by Karoly Freesz and Peter Vajda.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Fur, what are your feelings after these 100 days? Do you feel that public opinion and the press understand the Army's worries at all? What general image do they have of you?

[Fur] When I first came here, and after the first news conference I gave in this house, I felt a considerable amount of understanding—I would even say sympathy. Then, as weeks went by, the atmosphere seemed to change, and more and more criticism emerged. I stress that much of that criticism is justified, but I feel that the critical voices have become overpowering.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Do you think that this is unfair?

[Fur] Not at all. At the Zrinyi Academy graduation ceremony, I told our officers that the Army also has to account for its activities to the public. The Armed Forces

cannot live as they did before, when they were surrounded by a little bit of mystery. Criticism can be wrong or exaggerated, of course, but that is another question; such criticism has to be denied, and fair criticism has to be accepted. We must make sure that next time, the press will not be able to write such articles about the Army . By the way, what hurt me the most was that the press wrote very little about our grinding worries, but this was put right by the press after our last news conference. After our last conference, they painted a very realistic picture of the constrained situation that our soldiers live and work in, day after day, and I wish to thank the press for this.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In Autumn last year, a clear division was made between the Ministry of Defense and the leadership of the Army. Even today, opinions differ as to the justification of that division. How do you see it; does this structure help or hinder you in your work?

[Fur] In a way, it helps me because I do not have to deal with things that used to come under the authority of the Defense Minister (for example, the professional guidance of the Army). The termination of that professional leadership is a great advantage, because, now, the ministry can function as a proper government body. Nevertheless, the division was not carried out successfully in every way. Some important spheres of authority were given to the military leadership, spheres that, in my opinion, do not require specific professional guidance. For example, I could mention the officer training institutes, the Institute of Military History, and the management of all our cultural activities. Furthermore, some spheres of authority have not been clearly divided, and there are still overlappings today. This has to be clarified; we have already begun working on it, and a small-scale reorganization is taking place in the ministry these very weeks.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Speaking of reorganizations, everybody knows that a significant number of officers used to be members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP]. Is that taken into account when personal issues are judged?

[Fur] Not at all. At a recent cabinet meeting, a suggestion was made that a new requirement system should be elaborated for officers' careers, whereby our officers would undergo a serious professional evaluation at regular intervals (for example, every five years). Officers could then be promoted on the basis of this evaluation, or, if they proved to be inadequate, they would be discharged from the Army. In other words, we want to implement strict professional norms—and not at all political ones—that predictably characterize an officer's career throughout his life. We would like to extensively improve the living security of our soldiers.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Given that we are already speaking of the predictability of an officer's career, let us talk a little bit about education. Where will Hungary's future officers go to school? Previously, officers destined for higher positions were trained almost exclusively in the Soviet Union. In the same way, we also used to buy most of our arms from the Soviet Union. Is a different orientation to be expected for the future?

[Fur] In the future, we wish to limit our officer training links with the Soviet Union to certain specific areas. We have called back the younger generations from the Soviet Union, and only those classes that are preparing for their final examination have stayed there. In the future, we would like to open up toward the West, negotiations and preparations are taking place. We already have such a promise from Great Britain, and in January, for the first time, we shall be sending an officer there to study at a military academy. Germany, France and Italy have also been mentioned, and we would definitely like Hungarian officers to study at military institutions in the United States of America. All of this costs a lot of money, which poses a problem, so we would appreciate it if the receiving countries could provide scholarships for our first officers. Furthermore, I would like to maintain a certain number of our officers at the Polish and Czechoslovakian colleges, and I have been told that this feeling is mutual. As far as the long-term aims of our reorientation in military technology are concerned, we would like to "stand on more than one foot" in the field of armament too, and we do not want to be at the mercy of one country. This, however, is even more difficult than the issue of education, because this really costs a lot of money, and we cannot rush things. We have to progress very slowly, in accordance with our financial means.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The press is full of reports about the debate on military doctrine and on an all-round defense. How do you view that argument?

[Fur] The idea of an all-round defense is an unfortunate one, I am afraid I have referred to it as well, albeit in a symbolic way. I wanted to convey that we do not consider anybody to be our enemy. Instead of the Western attack we were expecting previously, we now have to be prepared to defend the country in the event of an attack from any direction. Of course, in practice, that does not mean that we are going to position ourselves along the border and fight in every direction at the same time, because an attack will still be launched from one direction. It is unthinkable that the Hungarian Army could single-handedly defend the country against the attack of a medium-sized country or a super-power. Our aim would be to try to contain the aggressor for a certain amount of time, and meanwhile, diplomacy would have to find a solution to the conflict.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Current debates deal not only with the duties of the Army, but also with its structure and organization. Many people would find a professional Army sufficient. What is your opinion on that?

[Fur] It has to be made clear that only one country in Europe has a strictly professional Army, and that is Great Britain. Such restructuring depends on two main factors. First, disarmament talks, which may lead to

unprecedented cuts in troops and armament if the present encouraging trend and pace continue. Second, the creation of a professional Army also depends on financial means, because our calculations show that such an Army would be more costly than the current Army of conscripts. On a long-term basis, it would be feasible to gradually cut down the numbers of the Army of conscripts, and to create a professional Army of about 40,000 - 60,000 people as well, but the time has not yet come for that.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Two reasons prompt us to ask the following question, given that you are both a historian and a minister....

[Fur] The former was a far more pleasant job....

[NEPSZABADSAG] We recently published an interview with a professional officer on the restoration of a monument commemorating the Trianon Treaty. Thereafter, a fellow officer gave his opinion to our newspaper (They had previously worked together in the reform-minded circles of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party). The entire debate centers around the foundation arguing for the monument, a foundation chaired by the political state secretary of the Ministry of Defense. What is your opinion on these issues?

[Fur] There are two different issues. First, there is the tragic and fatal role played by the Trianon Treaty in Hungary's history, which has to be built into our collective conscience in a fitting way. Second, there is the commemoration of that treaty. There can be arguments for or against the restoration, or even the erection, of a monument to commemorate the Trianon Treaty. In my opinion, such a monument could be erected if it was done with consideration and due thoughtfulness, but we would really have to think about what such a monument should look like and where it should stand. At the end of the twentieth century, however, there is no room for a monument featuring Mussolini quotes and other symbols of that time, which have since been stained. It would also be unfortunate if another monument had to be razed to the ground in order to erect this Trianon monument, and this touches a raw nerve. The commemoration of historical events should never be used to serve the politics of the day, as this was done under both Horthy and Kadar. That only leads to a falsification of the past, erroneous information, and total confusion in our collective conscience. Nevertheless, the political state secretary of the ministry has the right to participate in the work of any organization, a right also enjoyed by all soldiers. Soldiers can also be members of political parties, but they cannot take Army information out of the barracks, and they are not allowed to politicize inside the barracks.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us change the subject. Last week, it became known that government talks would soon take place to discuss the controversial issue of the financial consequences of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Does that mean that the soldiers could not come to an agreement?

[Fur] Until now, ministerial committees met to negotiate this issue, and those committees were not merely made up of soldiers, although their leaders were soldiers. The fact remains that they could not reach an agreement on several issues (for example, on the question of materials and projects left behind in Hungary). The negotiators' points of view did not come any closer, so an agreement on a higher level became necessary.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In conclusion, allow us two personal questions: We recently stated in our newspaper that everybody in the Army had been rehabilitated, except Junior Lieutenant Fur. When could that happen? The second question is: What has changed in your life, since you became defense minister?

[Fur] It is true that I have not yet been rehabilitated, but given that I have already been discharged from the Army, I do not think that I will ask for rehabilitation. There are also legal obstacles, as I would have to personally sign the document concerning my rehabilitation, and, of course, that is impossible. Furthermore, since I became defense minister, everything in my life has changed. I often say that this is not a ministerial post, but a receiving post, because from dusk till dawn, all one does is receive people and negotiate with them. Even my way of thinking has changed. In a way, the questions I deal with nowadays remove me from my previous life rhythm and lifestyle. I do not know if this can go on without any harmful consequences, because I work for 14 or 16 hours a day. Of course this work is different to digging work, and for an outsider it may not even look difficult. To make decisions every day, however, knowing that the fate of thousands of people—or maybe even of the whole country—is at stake, that really is an oppressive responsibility.

Agriculture Ministry Estimates Drought Damage

LD1209141990 Budapest MTI in English 1114 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 12 (MTI)—Hungarian agriculture most probably suffered the greatest drought of the century this year. The financial consequences cannot as yet be precisely appraised, however, the Ministry of Agriculture estimates damage at 30,000-35,000 million forints, it was reported at a press conference on Wednesday [12 September].

The government recently passed several measures to assist agricultural producers. Among others, it is providing special financial aid to the cooperatives and state farms in need. The banks are providing preferential loans, with state support, to farms struggling with liquidity problems. In view of the forecasted cereals shortage, 600,000 tonnes of cereals will probably have to be imported. To date, 400,000 tons of maize have been imported.

New Trade Guilds Associations Established

LD1009132990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Katalin Horvath report]

[Summary] The 163,000 small-scale entrepreneurs voted today to abolish the National Federation of Small Entrepreneurs, KIOSZ, and to establish in its place the IPOSz, the National Association of Trade Guilds [Ipartestueletek Orszagos Szoevetsege]. We have had enough of an organization which forces its will onto the artisan. This is what, in essence, they were saying. The new association promises to make its voice heard in legislation, and to begin a dialogue with the government in order to get enterprise-friendly taxes and regulators. They complain that, presently, only new entrepreneurs can get credits. They also want to establish their own banking system. They stress further that they do not want to be the arena of political debates and, therefore, do not support any party. IPOSz considers itself the legal successor of KIOSZ, whose assets will be handled by the local trade guilds.

Mazowiecki Wants 'Active Role' in Europe

LD1109124190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said today that Poland is not only returning to Europe, but would like to play an active and constructive role in that Europe. The head of the government made such a declaration at a meeting with the political affairs commission of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. He added that Poland's wish is to create good and friendly relations on the European continent so as to avoid the rekindling of old conflicts.

CSFR Delay in Opening Borders Criticized

AU1109091490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Sep 90 p 1

[Andrzej Jagodzinski commentary: "The Lowered Barrier"]

[Text] For the time being there will not be any "large" or for that matter "small" cross-border traffic between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Despite promises given by President Havel and Minister Dienstbier to do everything possible to ease current travel restrictions between Poland and Czechoslovakia, the CSFR Government did not make any decisions on the matter at its Thursday's [6 September] meeting. The problem of cross-border traffic with Poland was postponed for at least a week at the suggestion of Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

The decision of the CSFR Government, or rather the lack of a decision to restore normal cross-border traffic between our two countries, is astonishing.

In 1981, Czechoslovak authorities unilaterally suspended the tourist convention in force between our two countries. A protective barrier to defend Czechoslovakia against the "Solidarity" disease was created for political reasons. Now, Minister Klaus has made the reintroduction of the convention dependent on Poland fulfilling many economic conditions.

One can understand the Czechoslovak fears of an invasion of Polish profiteers, although this threat is rather exaggerated. Are customs' regulations insufficient to protect the market?

The reinstatement of small cross-border tourist traffic is an issue of humane relationships and should not be hedged by conditions. The reintroduction of the tourist convention should not have preconditions. If the convention in its present form is unacceptable to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic then steps should be taken to renegotiate it. Otherwise, one is continually sanctioning the abnormality which the unilateral suspension of the tourist convention created.

New PAP President Meets Management

LD1009165490 Warsaw PAP in English 1444 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 10—The new president and editor-in-chief of the PAP Polish Press Agency, Ignacy Rutkiewicz today held a meeting with PAP's management.

Minister Jacek Ambroziak, the head of the office of the Council of Ministers, thanked the to-date president, Bogdan Jachacz for his work on behalf of the prime minister. In positively assessing the performance of the agency in the last year, he stated that it has made considerable progress as goes for quality and informing society on the most important events and problems of the country.

Rutkiewicz is a graduate of Polish studies at the University of Poznan. Starting in 1961, he worked in the ODRA weekly as the head of the reporting and journalism department and at the same time was a member of the board of the Warsaw-based monthly WIEZ.

In December 1981 he was elected the editor-in-chief of ODRA by its staff. The weekly was suspended during martial law for half a year. Between 1980-1981 Rutkiewicz was a member of main board of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) [PPSd] association of Polish journalists. He currently is a member of the SDP board.

New Foreign Ministry Officials Appointed

LD1109100590 Warsaw PAP in English 0837 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 11—The prime minister recalled yesterday Bogdan Jachacz from the post of president the Polish Press Agency (PAP) and appointed Ignacy Mikolaj Rutkiewicz to the post.

At the motion of the foreign minister, the premier recalled Boleslaw Kulski from the post of secretary of state and Henryk Jaroszek from under-secretary of state and appointed Jerzy Makarczyk secretary of state (relieving him from the hitherto function of under-secretary of state), and Aleksander Krzyminski and Antoni Kuklinski under-secretaries of state in the Foreign Ministry.

The premier thanked the outgoing officials for their work.

Aleksander Krzyminski, 64, was born to an intelligentsia family in Paris. Professor of economy specializing in international market relations, marketing and management, he was a scientific worker and head of a department in the Business Cycle and Prices Institute at the Foreign Trade Ministry in Warsaw. In 1981 he acted as a Solidarity expert at the board of the Poznan International Fair, earlier he participated in the DIP (experience and future) opposition discussion group.

Antoni Kuklinski, 63, professor of geography. In the years 1958-1959 he studied in the United States, at the

Harvard University, among other places. In the years 1955-1967 he worked as a scholar in the Geography Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences. For the next four years he acted as director of the regional research programme of the UN Social Development Institute in Geneva. Since 1974 he has worked at the Warsaw University, at present as head of the Regional Planning Institute. He is also vicechairman of the Polish Society for Cooperation with the Club of Rome.

The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, authorized by Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, stated yesterday that also Boguslaw Miernik, hitherto director general in the ministry, will soon be dismissed.

The spokesman said as well that Jerzy Majewski maintains his function of under-secretary of state due to his experience in contacts with non-European countries.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski, the spokesman said, underlined that the personnel changes made in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs resulted in a complete renewal of the leadership of his department. The two viceministers now relieved from their posts, Boleslaw Kulski and Henryk Jaroszek, had been associated with the former government teams.

The GAZETA WYBORCZA daily quoted today unconfirmed reports from sources close to the government saying that Janusz Bylinski is likely to be appointed to the vacant post of agriculture minister. According to the paper Krzysztof Lis, until recently the most likely candidate, will probably not become minister for ownership transformations.

THe GAZETA reported also that Wojciech Wroblewski, scientific worker in the Sociology Institute of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow and head of the citizens' committee in Niepolomice, outside Krakow, was appointed new spokesman for the Interior Ministry.

Candidates for Communication Ministry Profiled

AU1109080490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Sep 90 p 2

["U.S."-signed report: "Candidates for the Post of Minister of Communications"]

[Text] There are at least two candidates for the post of minister of telecommunications. One is from the Democratic Party and the other has been put forward by the "Solidarity" telecommunications workers.

In July 1990, the Sejm rejected Premier Mazowiecki's motion that Marek Kucharski, current minister of communications, should be dismissed. The premier promised to return to this issue in one of the next parliamentary session.

However, judging from the recent arrangements made by the Sejm's senior-ranking parliamentarians, it looks as if the motion to dismiss the minister of communications and the proposal to appoint a new one has not been scheduled for the upcoming Sejm sessions. Thus, Marek Kucharski will still remain head of the ministry. Nevertheless, telecommunications circles are already discussing the possible candidates for this post.

At present there are two possible candidates. The first is Deputy Jerzy Slezak from the Democratic Party. He is a deputy voivode of Bialystok and a qualified communications engineer. Aleksander Mackiewicz, chairman of the Democratic Party has told GAZETA WYBORCZA that Slezak is the party's official candidate.

However, the "Solidarity" telecommunications section has put forward Marek Rusin as acting minister. Rusin has been in telecommunications for many years and is currently at Warsaw Polytechnic's department of electronics.

"Solidarity" has said that there is no pressing need to appoint a new minister of communications, because a new government will be formed in 1991. The person who is to be acting deputy for the minister should be someone who understands this sector of industry.

Administrative Personnel Changes Reported

AU1209110890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8-9 Sep 90 p 2

[Krzysztof Leski report: "Sweeping Out the Nomenklatura"]

[Text] After GAZETA WYBORCZA intervened, the government spokesperson's office finally received a copy of the document [not further specified], and last Friday Malgorzata Niezabitowska gave journalists a sizable document that purports to show that the government does not protect the nomenklatura and that sweeping personnel changes have already been made in central and local administrations.

During the last twelve months, 41 voivodes out of 49 voivodships have been replaced and out of the former 150 deputy voivodes only 13 have remained. The prime minister has appointed 31 new ones. The new principle is to appoint only one deputy voivode where before it was usual to appoint three to five. Some five voivodships are still without deputy voivodes.

Dismissals of administration officials at the voivodship level are still continuing (out of 25,000 at the beginning of this year some 8,000 have gone). The changes have also begun at the lower administrative levels and could affect some 50,000 out of the 100,000 employees. The number of voivodship departments is being radically cut down. Formerly, the average number was 25 departments, now it is more like 10 to 15.

In central government administration all 22 ministers are new. Of 94 deputy ministers 65 are out, and 14 out of 21 ministry department directors are also new. In other central bodies 40 out of 58 people are newcomers.

In the Ministry of National Defense, 54 out of 107 directors are new appointees and this includes the minister, three deputy ministers, 13 section heads and 31 deputy heads of the ministry's central institutions.

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the minister and all except one of the former deputy ministers are new. Sixty-five percent of the department directors and 75 percent of their deputies are new appointees. Out of the former 71 ambassadors, 40 have now been recalled, and this includes all ambassadors from the countries "that Poland regards as particularly important." All the former consuls have now been replaced. Lower level diplomatic staff are being replaced gradually and to date this process has already affected some 30 percent of embassy staff and 40 percent of consular staff.

In the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where the revolution finally began to make progress in May 1990, and after new resolutions were passed to separate the police service and the Office for the Protection of the State, 100 out of 130 former heads have been dismissed. The only former ones still remaining are the heads of the administration and management sections. None of the former Security Service heads have been retained.

Personnel changes in this ministry are still proceeding. Some five new departments are being created from zero. The chief of police and all his deputies are new appointments, as are 47 out of the 49 voivodship police heads.

The government press spokesperson has promised further reports on ministries and industries. In enterprises where the parent body is the ministry of industry two directors are being replaced every day, the press spokesperson said.

Primate Glemp Calls For Second Roundtable

LD1209040790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Information on Primate Glemp's initiative regarding the calling of a so-called roundtable number two on 18 September has been confirmed by the chairman of the Democratic Left's parliamentary floor group, Deputy Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. He also informed his floor group that he was one of the people invited to this meeting.

Kozlowski Interviewed on Intelligence Service

AU0709205090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 1-2 Sep 90 p 12

[Interview with Krzysztof Kozlowski, minister of internal affairs, by Jerzy Jachowicz; place and date not given: "An Interview on the Intelligence Service"]

[Text] [Jachowicz] How many people are there really in the intelligence service?

[Kozlowski] I cannot tell you. It is not fully staffed and there are vacancies waiting for young people. The staff reductions were so great that more than half the posts have not been filled. The intelligence service has to be rebuilt.

[Jachowicz] Can you give us an approximate figure?

[Kozlowski] The numbers are fluid.

[Jachowicz] I will try another angle. With how many states does Poland maintain diplomatic relations?

[Kozlowski] You should ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about that. I think that we have about 100 embassies.

[Jachowicz] If we multiply that figure by four, we will obtain an approximate figure for the number of intelligence service functionaries. On top of that, there are the covert Polish agents placed in passport and cultural sections, as well as agents recruited from other countries who are working for our intelligence service. This also applies to trade missions and cultural centers. All in all, that amounts to quite a few.

[Kozlowski] You are speculating.

[Jachowicz] Let us assume that. In your opinion, what percentage of employees at Polish representations abroad are working for the intelligence service?

[Kozlowski] The intelligence service's use of diplomatic representations was relatively modest. The figure tended to lie between 18 and 20 percent. So, it did not account for the large numbers of staff.

[Jachowicz] In addition, there is also the military intelligence service, which is chiefly concentrated in military missions, but also has people in civilian representations. On top of that, its agents are watched over by counter-intelligence specialists sent from Poland.

[Kozlowski] That was what it was like in my ministry, too. In addition to the intelligence service, other Ministry of Internal Affairs departments, including, for example, the fourth department (which dealt with church affairs), would dispatch their people to representations in order to check on their employees. As well as that, elderly functionaries were sent abroad for a cushy tour of duty as security officers. However, they provided no real security.

Another way of rewarding people for loyal service was to send functionaries from other offices and departments abroad as diplomatic couriers and cipher specialists. The elderly colonels in security offices and the courier service have to be replaced by efficient young men. We have succeeded in this to a large extent.

I am also trying to not to dispatch close relatives of section and department directors to representations.

[Jachowicz] So, you do not intend to send your brother-in-law abroad to a mission as your predecessor did?

[Kozlowski] No.

[Jachowicz] Perhaps you do not have a brother-in-law?

[Kozlowski] I do, but he has been living abroad for a good many years.

[Jachowicz] The representations were almost entirely filled by people connected with the nomenklatura. Have they been removed?

[Kozlowski] That applies to the consulates and not just to the intelligence service. They are people who found themselves in these places, because of personal or family connections, or as a reward for their "achievements" in Poland. It was normal for factors that had nothing to with a person's suitability for a particular post to be of importance. That is why Minister Skubiszewski is removing these people. We are also doing that.

[Jachowicz] Some people say that nobody who is abroad was sent there by chance. Every such person was in some way linked to the intelligence services.

[Kozlowski] That is not true. That was not the case in the past, and it is nonsense to assert that today.

[Jachowicz] What are the intelligence service's main tasks?

[Kozlowski] They are different from what they were until now. The intelligence service will not, I hope, be something hostile, aggressive, and directed against other states. We have to foster understanding between countries and not place obstacles in the way of it.

Overcoming certain stereotyped ways of thinking and prejudices is a task for the intelligence service. Stereotypes lie at the bottom of many Polish-Soviet conflicts. The same is true of the Germans. I think that reliable information provides a means of clearing various obstacles out of the way. After all, the ideas that the Russians and Germans have about us are also an obstacle.

[Jachowicz] I cannot believe my ears. It sounds rather like a fairy tale. Normal intelligence services do not love each other.

[Kozlowski] I would say once again that on this little piece land called Europe there has to be cooperation, even if it only applies to matters such as the fight against terrorism, the narcotics trade, and large scale fraud....

[Jachowicz] Do you know many agents the French and English intelligence services have in Poland?

[Kozlowski] Of course not. All I can say is that intelligence services activities have increased lately, and that probably means that the number of the agents has grown. This increase in activity is due to the instability in East Europe, which prompts concern all over the world. No state, not even those that are far away from here, wants to be taken by surprise by the way in which the situation will develop.

As we enter Europe, we will find ourselves exposed to European problems and dangers. I do not want to frighten anyone, but we will face a real danger of terrorism. At the moment, it is chiefly imported terrorism, not the homespun kind, but we have to take protective measures now.

We have started holding official talks with the intelligence services of other states on a matter that currently interests and concerns Poland very much, that of combating terrorism. In practice, this primarily means passing on information.

Identifying dangers early is the most important step. Having to shoot at terrorists is evidence of poor intelligence service work.

In the past, Polish antiterrorist units were used to quell "Solidarity" demonstrations and strikes, against an unarmed enemy. In December of last year, it was used to put down prison riots in Czarne and Nowogard. Recently they were used against gangs of criminals, and that is something that should be done by well-trained and efficient police.

Combating real terrorism calls for a completely different kind of training. We will not be able to deal with terrorism if we do not draw on the experience of countries in which terrorism has existed for years. We will have to learn from other training methods, about the setting up and operation of crisis staffs, about negotiating with terrorists, and identifying the ways in which attacks may be launched and the circumstances under which such attacks may occur.

[Jachowicz] We are already having to cope with other dangers. There is a large arms trade, and one expects there to be a trade in radioactive materials shortly, and finally, there are ecological threats. What is the response of our intelligence service to these dangers?

[Kozlowski] We do not have any units that have been trained to deal with these sorts of tasks. These sorts of dangers were completely outside the scope of the ministry. The arms trade has two forms: that conducted between states and that conducted between individuals. The smuggling of weapons by individuals is illegal, but we know that state agencies also traded in arms.

[Jachowicz] What about trading in liquor? Did our intelligence service not report that liquor was being smuggled into the country on a large scale?

[Kozlowski] The problem is that it was legal. There was a legal loophole that permitted liquor to be smuggled into the country on a large scale. The customs service, police force, and prosecution service dealt with those actions that violated the law from the very outset.

What is an intelligence service really meant to be? Can we be taken by surprise by what happens in Germany, Czechoslovakia, or Romania? We were until now. These matters are so important for our security that we must be prepared for various changes. However, we could completely stop intelligence service activities in countries that are far away from Poland. Until now, we were, for

example, interested in stealing industrial technology. Now that we are establishing economic cooperation on the basis of partnership and there is real access to Western technology, stealing technology ceases to make any sense.

Until now the intelligence service was involved in the covert acquisition of information, which could not be obtained legally by inefficient diplomats, unprofessional business people, and incompetent press correspondents. A second area was information about the Polish community living abroad, "Solidarity" centers, publications and radio stations. For many years the intelligence service stole technology that could not be used under our conditions. That is probably why some of that technology was passed on to the Soviet Union. Now all these tasks have become irrelevant, although we do not know, for example, who should gather information about whether business partners in Western countries are trustworthy, financially sound, and whether the companies are legitimate. Quite a lot of suspect capital will seek to enter our market. Establishing these things may be something for the intelligence service until Polish companies acquire specialists of their own. So, the intelligence service would perform something of an information service role for Polish business. Of course, the intelligence service will also do what the government wants it to do.

[Jachowicz] The kind of functions that you have outlined for the intelligence service could be performed by cultural and scientific centers and associations. However, an intelligence service has a different role.

[Kozlowski] Its role depends on the times that we live in and on what we expect of it.

[Jachowicz] It seems to me that the aim of an intelligence service is to obtain important information by covert means, or, to put it more simply, to steal information.

[Kozlowski] That is the basic misunderstanding. In Eastern Europe, importance was attached solely to illegal information. Only that kind of information was trusted and considered valuable. On the other hand, so-called overt intelligence activities, that is, the gathering of information that is generally available, information obtained from the press, radio, television, libraries, statistical reports and various open institutions was considered worthless.

[Jachowicz] It is true that Western states obtain about 90 percent of their information from open sources. The evaluation of that information is the most important thing from the point of view of the intelligence service.

[Kozlowski] Of course, and the information is evaluated by analysis units.

[Jachowicz] How prepared is our intelligence service for performing this kind of work?

[Kozlowski] It is badly prepared.

[Jachowicz] The West German intelligence service has a computer center that employs 4,000 people whose sole job is to process information.

[Kozlowski] We do not yet have a center of that kind; we still have to set one up. At the same time, once it exists it will indicate the intelligence service's real tasks. The real tasks are not eavesdropping, snooping, standing about near keyholes, or dispatching agents to clubs, associations, parties, and unions, but obtaining a certain overview of the situation within a country formed on the basis of statements and announcements that are published officially.

Essentially, this was something that was ignored in Poland. The police always thought that if they did not send an agent along to some meeting to secretly record what was discussed, then it would not know what was going on in the political life of the country.

In Poland, we should also start viewing affairs in a natural, "overt" way, and not in a secretive, policing manner.

[Jachowicz] There is still that 10 percent of strictly secret "clandestine" information. Do you think that we are doomed to fail from the outset, because of our meager financial resources.

[Kozlowski] Resources really are very limited. Our people are poorly paid and the operational funds that they have at their disposal are modest.

[Jachowicz] Exactly, we do not have anything to pay agents in Western countries with. It is more likely that the average citizen in one of those countries could afford to buy our agents. In addition to the lack of money, the equipment used by spies is out of date, so what are we actually doing there?

[Kozlowski] That is why we attach great importance to those things that cost least, that is, information that is available legally.

[Jachowicz] The Soviet intelligence service model was the one that was in force in our country. It was not so much the goals, but the methods that were the same.

[Kozlowski] The Soviet school imposed its model on the entire socialist camp. A characteristic of the East bloc, Soviet intelligence service is the importance that is attached to agents. The principle is that the more agents there are, the better the intelligence service. In the West it was believed that technology can replace the agent. I think that both sides have made a mistake. Despite their excellent technology, the Americans were still taken by surprise when Iraq launched its invasion of Kuwait. The lack of efficient agents resulted in the invasion being a complete surprise. On the other hand, it is also a mistake to base the entire intelligence service on a network of agents.

[Jachowicz] One feature taken over from the Soviet intelligence service was that of judging agents according

to the number of written memoranda and reports that they produce. An agent is judged by his supervisor on the basis of his "wastepaper" output. In the West, he is judged on a memorandum which is the final result of a complicated task that often takes months and on the way in which that task is accomplished.

[Kozlowski] How many written reports someone produced and the number of agents he ran not only determined the career prospects of an intelligence service employee, but also those of a Security Service functionary. If one did not run a group of several dozen secret informers, then one was considered to be a poor functionary. However, it did not interest anyone if someone was unable to maintain regular contact with all his agents and was unable to meet every informer, if only once every couple of weeks.

[Jachowicz] What percentage of Security Service functionaries were trained by the KGB in Moscow?

[Kozlowski] Not all that many. Almost all former students of the KGB had to leave the ministry recently. A relatively small group of Poles is currently studying at Soviet schools.

[Jachowicz] How many exactly?

[Kozlowski] I think that a couple of dozen are. It is something of a problem. I think that they should retrain, because I do not see there being any possibility for them to work in the Office for the Protection of the State.

We will train officers ourselves. It is difficult to imagine having our people trained in Western countries. However, police could be trained in the West. Currently, a first group of police officers—about 30 men, and they will be followed by others—is preparing to go to France for a longer period of time. We will also have police antiterrorist and narcotics specialists trained in the United States and England. However, we will, of course, train intelligence specialists ourselves.

[Jachowicz] What powers does a Polish intelligence service agent have?

[Kozlowski] He has no powers other than the means to communicate. However, I would like to stress once again that the intelligence service is only one source of information and it is not the most important one.

[Jachowicz] Do we still have generals in the intelligence service?

[Kozlowski] The intelligence service has radically changed, like the entire Ministry of Internal Affairs. Of the old personnel, only a few lower level officers have remained. I have stopped treating them with suspicion. It is a personal risk, but I have decided to take it. I want to achieve a mix of old and young people that will form a single unit. I cannot abide by the principle that I trust one person completely, another person a little less, and yet another not at all. We are a team.

Government Delays General Income Tax Introduction

LD1109101390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Despite an earlier announcement, a general income tax will not be introduced at the beginning of next year, but a year later, it was decided at yesterday's meeting of the Council of Ministers. The value added tax, which is to replace the turnover tax, will be introduced in the middle of next year—six months earlier than the Ministry of Finances recently anticipated, and six months later than in the original assumptions. [passage omitted]

NSZZS Farmers Accept Government Draft Plan

LD1109124790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] An Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity [NSZZS] private farmers press conference was held today. The government's draft agricultural program was positively assessed, particularly the fact that the need to treat the food economy sector differently from the remaining sectors, and the need for state intervention is anticipated in the draft. The trade unionists consider, however, that there are no mechanisms for cooperating with the state administration in the creation of an agricultural policy.

New Cable Radio Station Founded in Cieszyn

LD1109231890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] The (Teltron) firm has founded a local radio station in Cieszyn. The radio broadcasts its programs from 0700 to 1500 [0500 to 1300 GMT], transmitting via the cable network to enterprises and individual recipients.

Balkan Foreign Ministers Meet in Bucharest

Nastase Opening Speech

AU1209182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1623 GMT 12 Sep 90

["Diplomatic Activities: Adrian Nastase—Expanded Manysided Cooperation in the Balkans"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/9/1990—The Romanian Government attaches utmost importance to the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries due in Tirana next month, said Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, on Wednesday [12 September] in his opening address to a meeting of high officials in the Foreign Ministries of the Balkan countries to run in Bucharest for three days.

By happy coincidence, this meeting takes place on the eve of a symbolic anniversary—the commemoration this October of 60 years since the first Balkan conference in Athens, which opened the process of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, to the theoretical substantiation and practical promotion of which the renowned Romanian diplomat and statesman Nicolae Titulescu made a substantial contribution, the minister said.

The deep-going changes which have occurred on the continent, especially since the mid-seventies, have offered, in spite of the states of mistrust and tension among some of the countries in the area, favourable conditions for the expansion of cooperation on a regional level, all while the process of building cooperation and security in Europe has gained ground.

Recent history has recorded the 1988 Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of all Balkan countries as a key event owing to its strong impact on multilateral cooperation in our region.

The understandings reached by consensus resulted in numerous governmental meetings, which took place in the past two and a half years on a ministerial and expert level in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and touristic fields, as well as in other areas of mutual interest. The respective meetings were hosted by each one of the six Balkan countries.

At the same time, I wish to highlight the numerous non-governmental events in various fields, which encouraged multilateral rendering it extensive and dynamic and bringing to light the common interests and destiny of the peoples in this part of the continent.

Prerequisites for the further growth of multilateral cooperation in the Balkans were also offered by last year's radical changes in the European political life. The elimination of the ideological factor from inter-European relations, the reduction of military considerations in the course of such relations, the increase in the compatibility of the economies of the European states, and the orientation towards the promotion of common assets in the field of human rights are all elements that can open a new chapter in the cooperation and understanding of our countries.

It is with this perspective in mind that, during his recent visit to Yugoslavia, Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, expressed a number of ideas and suggestions about the steps our countries could take to impart new content to Balkan cooperation, by creating what could be called a forum of security and cooperation in the Balkans. Essentially, the suggestion is that, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and of the agreements reached at subsequent CSCE meetings, our countries should examine specific modalities of building up confidence and strengthening security in the Balkans, of broadly developing their relations in the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other areas and of closely working together in humanitarian affairs, in the promotion and guarantee of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

Referring to the political-military component, the Romanian foreign minister considered it would be useful to agree on a set of confidence-building measures in the Balkans, which could go even further than the ones already adopted on an all-European plane and which would be applied to the relations between neighbouring countries. These measures could also cover the development of military contacts, in the form of meetings of the defence ministers or of the chiefs-of-staff. In the same area of confidence and security, we think it would be useful to work out a system of procedures to prevent and lessen misunderstandings among the countries of this region, the minister said.

As to the second component that of the cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other fields, the progress achieved so far is less than expected, the speaker said. That is why, it would be useful to appropriately reassess that activity with a view to better adapting it to present realities. All the more so as some of the countries attending this meeting, Romania included, are committed to a process of administrative and economic decentralization, of transition to a market economy, which can substantially change the contents and forms of Balkan cooperation. We think that a Balkan meeting, similar to the CSCE meeting in Bonn and taking into account its final document, would represent a suitable framework for such a reassessment.

With regard to the human dimension, the common assets of democracy and political pluralism enshrined in the final act of the Copenhagen meeting offer prerequisites for our countries to cooperate to guarantee respect for human rights, to settle humanitarian issues rapidly and equitably and to encourage the free flow of information.

As far as ethnic issues and those of the national minorities are concerned, which belong to the very essence of bilateral relations in our region, we think the elaboration of a code of cooperation of the Balkan states on ethnic and national questions, which would contain a package

of norms and principles to guide the conduct of states in their cooperation in such issues would be in the interest of all our countries. In our view, an efficient cooperation among the Balkan countries along this line could be backed by the creation of a Balkan Institute for Studies and Research in Ethnic and Minority Problems.

In the newly-created European climate, to which the summit CSCE meeting in Paris could give a new impetus, the process of creating the forum of Balkan Security and Cooperation I have just referred to could be supported by the elaboration of a Charter of Security and Cooperation in the Balkans. Such a charter could offer the political and legal bases of the forum and could reiterate and develop the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, adapting them to the requirements and the specificity of the Balkans, the Romanian foreign minister said in conclusion.

Meeting Opens, Agenda Given

AU1209194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1800 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/9/1990—The ninth meeting of high officials in the Foreign Ministries of the Balkan countries opened in Bucharest on Wednesday afternoon. It is the first meeting held after the changes wrought in Eastern Europe.

In the attendance are deputy ministers and secretaries of state in the Foreign Ministries of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania.

The opening address was delivered by the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Adrian Nastase. Addresses were also made by the other chief delegates.

The agenda includes:

1. An assessment of the implementation of the cooperation ventures included in the Athens Protocol.

a. Reassessment of the actions taken after the meeting in Athens;

b. Reports on the preparation of actions to be taken until the end of the ongoing year;

c. Proposals to complement the programme of palpable actions to be taken until the next meeting of high officials.

2. Organization of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries.

3. Adoption of the protocol of the meeting.

After the opening session, the proceedings continued behind closed doors. The president of the meeting is Romulus Neagu, secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the Romanian Government.

Reportage on Nastase's Visit to Turkey

Visit Termed 'Very Important'

AU1209182290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1551 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/9/1990—The Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase, returned in the morning of September 12 from a visit to Turkey, made the following statement in connection with his contacts and talks in Ankara:

It was a very important visit. I had the opportunity of summit contacts—besides the talks at the Turkish Foreign Ministry—with Mr. Ali Bozer, minister of foreign affairs; I had the pleasure to be received by Turkey's prime minister, Mr. Yildirim Akbulut, and also by President Turgut Ozal.

Besides the questions of bilateral interest we have also discussed general political and economic issues. There is a great openness in Ankara for the development of the relations between the two countries; I think there is a great chance now for a collaboration based on our mutual interests.

Our partners in Turkey made significant gestures. For example, I was announced about the granting of a humanitarian aid in food worth of two billion Turkish liras. Several credit lines will be opened for the buying of important products. We have also agreed on establishing consulting mechanisms at the level of Foreign Ministries. We have talked about the possibility to set up a council of the businessmen in Turkey and Romania to contribute to a better bilateral cooperation.

Foreign Minister's Visit Viewed

AU1209182390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/9/1990—On September 10 and 11, 1990 the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Adrian Nastase, paid an official visit to Turkey at the invitation of his Turkish counterpart, Dr. Ali Bozer. During his entire visit the Romanian minister was friendly welcomed, the hosts emphasising the importance they paid to their relations with Romania.

Mr. Adrian Nastase was received by Turkey's president, Turgut Ozal. On the occasion the Turkish head of state expressed Turkey's wish to develop on all planes the relations with Romania, to share the experience of Turkey which has passed in a relatively short time from a state-run economy to an economy based on private initiative.

In his talks with Mr. Adrian Nastase, Turkey's minister of foreign affairs announced the Turkish Government's resolution to grant Romania humanitarian aid of foodstuffs worth of two billion Turkish liras.

The same atmosphere of understanding and warm friendship characterized the Romanian minister's interview with Yildirim Akbulut, Turkey's prime minister, when practical methods were examined to give the Romanian-Turkish cooperation new dimensions.

During the talks between Mr. Adrian Nastase and the Turkish minister of foreign affairs agreement was made for the setting up of a mechanism of periodical political consultations between the two countries at the level of foreign ministries, for the promotion of contacts and cooperation on parliamentary line as well as between non-governmental organisations in Romania and Turkey.

As regards the Romanian-Turkish economic relations emphasis was placed on the favourable framework existing in that field, too, based on common concerns and interests for the restructuring and modernization of national economies, the introduction of market mechanisms. The two ministers agreed that the commercial exchanges and the bilateral economic cooperation were below the two countries' real potential. To that end, they agreed that a thorough analysis of the present stage of the economic and technical-scientific relations between Romania and Turkey be made at the forthcoming session of the joint Romanian-Turkish Commission of Economic Cooperation in Bucharest and the framework and necessary measures be established for their development.

As regards international questions, pride of place was given to the Balkan cooperation a field where both Romania and Turkey have mutual interests which represents a favourable framework for the development of the cooperation among all the countries in that region. In that context, Mr. Adrian Nastase presented Romania's proposal regarding the setting up of a Forum of Security and Collaboration in the Balkans as integrant part of the CSCE process to facilitate the application of the Helsinki Final Act principles in keeping with the conditions specific to the Balkan region.

Analysis was also made of other current international issues, the Gulf situation, security and cooperation in Europe, and reference was made with satisfaction to the fact that Romania and Turkey had close points of view.

* Group for Social Dialogue on Ethnic Relations

90BA0293B Bucharest 22 in Romanian 17 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by the Group for Social Dialogue: "Learn To Love Again"]

[Text] Half a century after the war, we are now in possession of a large capital of suffering that we are obligated to transform into a capital of wisdom. This conversion may have already occurred when a prominent cultural personality, one of the great innocents who fell victim to absurd games, said shortly before dying: "Do not avenge us."

Are we ready to hear such a message?

Perhaps we are, because many of us have learned this strange lesson of history, the lesson of nonviolence. Any attack must be answered nonviolently, and any act of hostility must be answered with an act of love.

Perhaps we are not, because many of us still react with the reflexive hatred generated by long years of living in an inferno that has only recently begun to dissolve. As it has been seen, after the death of the tyrant we were left with enormous reserves of hatred, which we can shed only in one of two ways: one complex and healing—annihilating the hatred through a spiritual exercise; and another, primitve and nefarious—directing this hatred at someone. Although anyone with the least knowledge of chess knows that the most simple move is also the worst, the temptation of the simple and harmful way is hard to overcome. On whom does it seem easiest to heap our stockpiles of hatred?

There are, unfortunately, the minorities: ethnic, political, religious, and social. And primarily, there are the Hungarians.

Because the Hungarians speak a different language—which they do not intend to forget—and come from a different ancestral space. What a splendid chance for the professionals of hatred to use these elements to put together the archtypal image of a foe! What a simple means of access to the irrational!

We all know that, in case of a conflict, the European states do not intervene even in favor of the victim, which makes any fear that they may intervene in favor of the aggressor even more absurd. Nevertheless, some of us are expecting the day of 30 August [anniversary of the Vienna diktat] with the same paradoxical fear with which the champions of anxiety and ingorance expect the earthquake to be repeated on every 4th of March. Hungary has on every opportunity repeated ad nauseam that it has no territorial claims; it cut down its military forces by one third, and it seems almost exclusively absorbed by its economy recovery (only 13 percent of the Hungarians turned out at an important election). Nevertheless, the professional proponents of hostility seize on every ambiguous mode of expression, any slip in translation, and any possible change of context to invent terrifying bellicose threats. We are all aware of the fact that actions whose authors are not known cannot be used to indict anyone, nevertheless the Hungarian minority is continuously accused of so-called profanation of statues in Transylvania. In any other country, schoolchildren are assigned to classes by some lowly inspector of schools, only in our country the professionals of hostility have managed to transform a routine operation into a European scandal. The acts of cruelty that we Romanians have perpetrated against each other in mid-June have stunned us first, then all of Europe, but we do not stop seizing on others' cruelty, unilaterally rememorizing a mutually bloodied history. Grim and vindictive, we are preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Diktat,

forgetting that Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Norway, and many other countries lived through equally painful anniversaries with sad distinction, rejecting the malefic temptations of xenophobia. Loaded with resentment, we prepare to count our graves and commemorate our dead—but the commemoration of the dead is at least in part a religious ritual, to us, a Christian ritual. Have we completely forgotten that we are a Christian nation, and that Christianity is the religion of love? Have we forgotten that there is such a thing as love in the world?

We are so disoriented amid this lengthy and difficult exodus from the inferno that we cannot stop to observe how many things we have in common with the Hungarians. We are taught in school that we are a linguistic island, a "Latin people amid a Slavic sea," which gives us a certain pride and a vague sense of isolation, and we become accustomed to surround the history of our survival with secret love. But the linguistic isolation of the minorities is even more acute than ours, and it is only normal that it should generate at least the same feelings of love and aloneness. We contemplate each other suspiciously from our own realm of loneliness. There is an acute state of involvement between our peoples; when it appears in interpersonal relations, this sort of state frequently tends toward love. Will we be able to demonstrate that good is stronger than evil? Transylvania links our nations in a kind of eternal historical betrothal. Can we show ourselves worthy of coexisting in harmony on this blessed soil?

Let us count our graves. Aren't there enough of them? Can we not optimistically step out with outstretched hand toward each other on the path of reconciliation?

Hungarian Ethnics Offend PNL Leader Campeanu

AU1209072290

[Editorial Report] Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian on 5 September, page 1, carries a 400-word note by Eugen Iordache entitled "Is Tusnad No Longer in Romania?" in which the author relates what happened to National Liberal Party [PNL] leader Radu Campeanu, on passing through Tusnad—a Transylvanian spa—on his return to Bucharest from a tour of Moldavian towns. Apparently, Campeanu and his entourage had booked into a hotel in the town, but the "Hungarian personnel of Hotel-Restaurant Olt" refused to serve them. The author considers this as an "obvious manifestation of Hungarian chauvinism" and demands "urgent explanations."

March of Solidarity With Bessarabia Held in Iasi

AU1009105790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0938 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/9/1990—Last Sunday a silent march was organized in the city of Iasi by the Democratic Anti-Totalitarian Forum of Moldova, founded of August 24 by some parties of the opposition. The event was a token of solidarity with the Romanian brothers beyond the Prut [River] and their brave fight to recover real independence and sovereignty and against the obvious tendencies to divide their native land. The participants carried tricolor flags and placards reading "Independence and Sovereignty for the Moldavian Republic", "Romanians Across the Prut, We Love You" and "We Support Your Struggle Against Separatist Tendencies".

The event, says ROMPRES correspondent in Iasi, was meant as an open reply to the appeal to public opinion made by the Bessarabian brothers, requesting moral support from all Romanians in their efforts to attain integrity and sovereignty of the Moldavian Republic. The participants marched in silence along the main streets of the town. The marchers sent appeals to Romania's president, to the Romanian Parliament and Government, as well as to Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, containing their views about the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Moldavia. A letter of solidarity was also sent to the Council of the Popular Front of Moldavia.

* Efforts Made To Interest Foreign Investors

90BA0292A Bucharest REALITATEA ROMANEASCA in Romanian 24 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with I.I. Bratianu, minister secretary of state, head of the Romanian Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Investments and Economic Assistance, by Petru Constantin; place and date not given]

[Text] [Constantin] You were recently appointed head of the Romanian Agency for the Promotion of Foreign Investments and Economic Assistance [ARPIAES], with the rank of minister secretary of state. Your activities within this "governmental commission" are of particular interest to our public. Along this line, please give us a concise presentation of the purpose and objectives of the ARPIAES.

[Bratianu] ARPIAES was established for the purpose of persuading factors abroad of the realities prevailing in Romania after the removal of the totalitarian regime and, not least, in order to meet certain present, immediate, and future domestic needs. Our Association intends to take a general survey of our economic potential for the purpose of recommending Romanian partners for cooperation with foreign investors. It can be stated that this agency is carrying a national responsibility.

[Constantin] What is your specific function?

[Bratianu] As the head of this Agency I will make consistent efforts to change certain bureaucratic mentalities and particularly to eliminate the antiquated practice of professional salesmen traveling the world without having to assume due responsibility. We need pragmatic initiatives. This is what I envisaged when I agreed to head this 'department' subordinated to the government.

Unfortunately, some people are trying to unjustly trivialize this Agency and turn it into a purely formal body belonging to no one.

As far as I am concerned, I assumed the responsibility of a Romanian conscience, but I am encountering great difficulties. I am being slandered by some so-called 'freedom defenders,' who deliberately distort the real image of the present Romanian society in its irreversible march along the thorny path of democracy.

I want to stress that you cannot engage in economic politics without first dealing with political politics. But in order to conduct Romanian policies one must feel that one is a Romanian, a born son of this nation. Romanians are fed up with slogans!

[Constantin] Mr. State Secretary, what is, in your opinion, the most acute problem characterizing the "emergency situation" currently confronting Romanian society?

[Bratianu] To gain credibility about the economic, social, and political realities prevailing in Romania, we must have the courage to admit our mistakes. There is a Romanian adage that says, "A mistake admitted is half pardoned." The people will not forgive us if we do not promote a policy of truth. Recognizing a mistake is not the same as self-criticism, from which everybody shrinks. Putting ashes on our heads is of course no good; but neither is the 'ostrich policy.' I will give you a topical example that has the most serious consequences. The government does not want to clearly explain to the people that we have many carloads of sugar in Constanta but, because of the dock workers blockade, a whole chain of problems has been created: The consumer does not get sugar, there is wide-spread, outright theft, and we have to pay storage taxes in hard currency. Thus, the state is forced to suffer these nefarious consequences.

Various collectives of workers have expressed their willingness to help unload the sugar but they were preempted by the dock workers who, in an unreasonable and unjustified action that borders on irresponsibility, are making unrealistic demands and by their attitude, are keeping 22 million people 'on their knees' and without an indispensable staple.

At this time, the government should present the real situation, showing that the dock workers are doing something that has nothing to do with freedom and democracy, or with the interests of the people. By explaining the real situation, the government can also justify the legitimacy of using the necessary forces of order, as is done in all legal, democratic states. But the government remains silent. Is it in anyone's interest to once again bring us to conflicts? Who will intervene in case of emergency? The country's president? We would be better off without a repeat performance of the events of 13-15 June. Democracy has its limits. Overstepping its limits means abuse of freedom, which is libertinism. Consequently, the government must as a matter of principle promote a policy of truth, which will engender enthusiasm; in the absence of such a policy, the repercussions can only be negative.

[Constantin] Speaking of the attitude of the dock workers of the Port of Constanta, what is your view of the relationship between the government and the Free Trade Unions?

[Bratianu] This should be a relation of cooperation aimed at getting the market economy on its feet. All the workers must understand that we are in a critical situation and that they must not abuse the rights won at the price of so many sacrifices. As we know, the current social situation is characterized by inequalities, but before we go to war, we should endeavor to achieve a reconciliation that can help us overcome the 'emergency situation' of the national economy. The Free Trade Unions must have an important say in the drafting of the future legal regulations, but everything must be done realistically, otherwise...

[Constantin] We want to thank you and to wish you complete success in your mission!

Fota on Private Licenses in Trade Sector

AU0809175190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1639 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/9/1990—Mr Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism, stated at a press conference that nearly 40,000 private business agents were working in the home trade network, of which 10,000 in the capital city. Functioning licenses have been given so far to 3,880 private firms, of which 80 per cent in Bucharest. The minister also said that a law was to be published which is apt to settle the relationships between private businessmen and government and state administration bodies.

52,000 Licences Granted for Private Businesses

AU1209110190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/9/1990—Making a balance sheet of the six months that have passed since the enforcement of the decree-law No. 54 of 1990 regarding the organization and development of economic activities on the basis of free initiative, Mr. Petre Terzi, secretary of state, chairman of the National Privatization Agency, stated inter alia: more than 52,000 licenses have been given so far, which shows the citizens' special interest in developing the private sector.

While surveying the situation of the small production units, one can note significant differences from one county to another in the number of like enterprises, which might reflect the local authorities' insufficient concern for privatization and stimulation of free initiative.

The initial target has only partially been attained as only a few enterprises (4.3 per cent) streamlined their activity

toward production. Most of them deal in trade, public catering and services because the investments such sectors require also smaller and can be faster retrieved.

Despite the relatively large number of private enterprises in the sphere of trade and services their contribution to supplying the population with an appropriate amount of high-quality goods without practicing speculative prices is minimal.

This is due to certain administrative instructions centrals and ministries gave to state enterprises, according to which they should conclude no contract with private enterprises or deliver them none of their products.

Among other difficulties free-initiative-based economic activities encounter are, as Mr. Terzi mentioned, the non-allotment of raw and auxiliary materials, fuel and energy needed in production units, the reduction of the employees in a small enterprise to 20 at the most, and in profit-making associations to 10, the refusal of state and cooperative units to sell or let available machines, equipment and outfit to small enterprises, the mayorship's restraint to grant them spaces or terrains, and the non-stimulative terms for the granting, reimbursement or guaranteeing of credits.

In Mr. Terzi's opinion, though the decree-law No. 54 of 1990 has provided a first framework for the setting up and functioning of private enterprises as economic agents over the period of transition to a market economy, it has not given enough opportunities to private economic agents to develop. In accordance with the future legislative regulations, the private economic agents will be able to work as such only after the territorial courts, the financial bodies and the county chambers of commerce and industry register them.

'Cojocaru Alternative' on Privatization

AU1209184690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1554 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/9/1990—A conference-debate took place on Tuesday afternoon in Bucharest with Mr. Constantin Cojocaru, author of the recently published book "Privatizarea De Ce? Cum? Pentru Cine?" (Privatization Why? How? For Whom?). The conference was organized by Alfa Trade Union Cartel.

The debates were also attended by representatives of other union federations and mass media.

After the author's short introduction to his privatization pattern, debates started on some of the project's items. When asked what the advantages of the "Cojocaru alternative" are as to the pattern proposed by the government, Mr. Constantin Cojocaru said to a ROMPRES reporter that his own system of privatization eliminated the "dirty" money owners, quickly forms an important amount of Romanian private capital, capable to start direct negotiations with foreign private entrepreneurs, and brings about a psychological change in labour ethics. "The younger generation will look differently upon their parents and upon work, in general, when they have become owners of titles of property," the author said.

In the end, the participants unanimously expressed their confidence in the viability of Mr. Cojocaru's proposal regarding the process of transferring the state property to the population.

The meeting will be followed by other consultations both on a trade union and on a government line, to be paralleled by the popularization of Mr. Cojocaru's principles and ideas.

FSN Press Release on 6 Sep Working Meeting

AU1209115090 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 7 Sep 90 p 3

["Under the Sign of the Rose—Press Communique" of the Leadership Bureau of the National Salvation Front Steering Collegium]

[Text] A working meeting of the Leadership Bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN] Steering Collegium chaired by the political leader of this group, Mr. Petre Roman, took place on 6 September 1990.

The participants in the meeting examined the period that has passed since the last plenary meeting of the FSN Steering Collegium and started to modify its structure, in accordance with the following additional strategic objectives:

1. PREPARING AND ACCOMPLISHING THE FSN'S NATIONAL CONVENTION. [preceding in uppercase as published]

In this respect Mr. Claudiu Iordache was designated as coordinator in his capacity as first vice president, and a commission was set up including the following: Sorin Butnaru, Bogdan Niculescu-Duvaz, Silvian Ionescu, Liviu Muresan, Adrian Nastase, Dan Popescu, Dorel Sandor, Vasile Secares, Adrian Severin, Bogdan Teodoroiu, and Vasile Vacaru.

2. DRAFTING AND DISCUSSING THE FSN'S IDEOLOGICAL PLATFORM AND THE PARTY RELATIONS. [preceding in uppercase as published]

In this respect, Mr. Nicolae S. Dumitru was designated as coordinator, in his capacity as first vice president. This objective will be accomplished by a commission which includes the following: Ionel Achim, Lucian Bolcas, Vladimir Lazarescu, Sergiu Nistor, Ion Mircea Pascu, Vladimir Pasti, Velicu Radina, Elisabeta Vasile, and Ionel Zamfirescu.

3. Likewise, the participants decided that the central-organizational apparatus of the whole activity be coordinated by Mr. Gheorghe Scortan, in his capacity as the FSN vice president.

4. The Leadership Bureau of the Steering Collegium designated Mr. Liviu Muresan as leader of the parliamentary group in the Deputies' Assembly, to be assisted by Mr. Bogdan Teodoroiu and two other deputies who are going to be designated at a later date.

Likewise, discussions were held on the draft about local elections, as the FSN's legislative initiative.

[signed] The Leadership Bureau of the FSN Steering Collegium

Labor Ministry Report on Protection of Minors

AU1109114790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0923 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1990—Since the December 1989 revolution, shows a communique of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the problems regarding social security have been one of the Romanian Government's chief concerns. In the context, several measures were taken to improve the conditions for the handicapped, more particularly the minors in social security units. Worth mentioning among them are:

—a 100 per cent increase of daily food allocations,

—an over 100 per cent rise in the number of the personnel in basic activities, of the nursing and educational staff in particular,

—the 20 per cent increase in the personnel's salaries with a view to raising its attachment and stabilization,

—the rise in the funds meant for better conditions for the functionality of buildings and the technical-sanitary equipment now quite worn-out,

—the schooling of medium-skilled personnel for social security units in 1990-1991,

—the setting up of social security sections in the universities of Bucharest, Cluj and Iasi.

Part of the actions aiming at immediately improving the assistance granted to the handicapped are carried out with the support of international organizations and national associations of various countries as they directly know both the difficulties we have to encounter and the measures we have taken to surmount them.

We express our gratitude for the support these organizations, the private persons in the country and abroad give us to better social assistance.

Given the scope of problems, of difficulties and of the very hard conditions, a solution can be found which should be viewed only as a process spanning more than a few months for which we shall make all our efforts and make it shorter.

PNL Young Wing Holds News Conference 10 Sep

AU1109114490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0910 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1990—A news conference was held at Hotel Intercontinental in Bucharest Wednesday afternoon upon the initiative of the National Liberal Party [PNL]—the Young Wing. It was attended by numerous Romanian journalists and foreign press correspondents.

Mr. Dinu Patriciu, member of the party's initiative committee, referred to the young liberals' concerns for the creation of a liberal forum apt to constitute itself a viable alternative of governing the country. In the context, he reported the merging of his grouping with the democratic party based in Cluj, anticipating that other fusions will produce.

During the news conference reference was also made to the major lines of this political grouping's economic programme, with emphasis on its attitude toward industrial matters, price liberalization, the banking system, the autochthonous and foreign capital treatment.

Some of the legislative initiatives to be forwarded to the parliament were also mentioned. They aim at modifying the education law and at setting ways of privatizing terrains in the tourist areas as well as the state urban propery.

Ministry Meets With Youth Representatives

AU1109104590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0914 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/9/1990—Members of the Department for Youth of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports initiated a meeting with representatives of youth foundations from various counties and from Bucharest. The talks focused on defining the relations between the youth department and the foundations. Most speakers expressed doubts about the so-called partner [word indistinct] of the ministry and about the real intentions of its youth department. Most speakers on behalf of the foundations dealt almost exclusively with the re-distribution of the material and financial assets as well as of the youth clubs which had belonged to the former Union of Communist Youth county organizations.

During the talks the parties agreed in principle on the future cooperation lines between the youth department and the foundations. The next meeting will be devoted to searching the best ways to solve the problems of the youth with the support of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports.

* List of New Top PNT-cd Officials

90BA0294A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 25 Aug 90 p 1

[List of members of the central leadership of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNT-cd] elected on 1 and 17 August at the meeting of the PNT-cd Steering Committee]

[Text]

PNT-cd Permanent Delegation Secretary
Ion Manea

1. Steering Committee
(membership list was published in our newspaper issue No. 161 of 21 August 1990)

2. Parliament Members
Chairman of the PNT-cd Parliamentary Group: Ion Ratiu

Ioan Alexandru, Constantin Constantinescu, Ion Diaconescu, Nichita Dumitrescu, Valentin Gabrielescu, Vasile Gionea, Caius Iacob, Nicolae Ionescu-Galbeni, Petre Maior, Adrian Nicoara, Petre Stefanut, Gabriel Tepelea.

3. Provisional Chairmen of County Organizations and Bucharest City Districts (in alphabetical order of counties)

Ioan Berciu, Alba; Petru Stefanut, Arad; Ion Nania, Arges; Eremia Ciobanu, Bacau; Nistor Badiceanu, Bihor; Vasile Aldrofan, Bistrita-Nasaud; Emanuil Babiie, Botosani; Ion Muresanu, Brasov; Toma Paun, Braila; Ion Bucuroiu, Buzau; Nichita Dumitrescu, Caras-Severin; Paul Alecu, Calarasi; Ion Ratiu, Cluj; Constantin Doicescu, Constanta; Constantin Codrescu, Covasna; Tudor Gane, Dimbovita; Dan Dasoveanu, Dolj; Victor Lepadatu, Galati; Sebastian Slavitescu and Monica Farota, Giurgiu; Gheorghe Adamescu, Gorj; Cornel Oltenschi, Harghita; Nicolae Rados, Hunedoara; Gheorghe Cristea, Ialomita; Vasile Lupu, Iasi; Traian Buxbaun, Maramures; Constantin Papici, Mehedinti; Nistor Man, Mures; Ioan Timofte, Neamt; Valentin Argeseanu, Olt; Constantin Opris, Prahova; Gavril Molnar, Satu Mare; Vasile Pop, Salaj; Petru Maior, Sibiu; Bogdan Bigoi, Suceava; Gheorghe Dobre, Teleorman; Mircea Roman, Timis; Adrian Ilie, Tulcea; Constantin Nastase, Vaslui; Radu Livezeanu, Vilcea; Manaila Nicu, Vrancea.

Bucharest City Districts: Serban Ghica, 1; Dumitru Elefterescu, 2; Stelian Popa, 3; Mihail Mihai, 4; Petru Popovici, 5; Ioan Antoniu, 6; Virgil Paunescu, Agricultural District.

4. Delegates of Special Interests Organizations

Florin Constantinescu, Ioan Dinuta, Andrei Iacovescu, Adrian Mustatea, Marius Silvestru.

Workers Organization: Paul Dumitrescu, Tiberiu Grossu, Anghel Marinescu, Victor Raducanu, Dan Stanescu.

Women's Organization: Coralia Cornescu, Mioara Dimitriu, Maria Florescu, Elena Stelian, Alexandra Ungureanu.

5. Auxiliary Organization
Razvan Tanasescu

6. Press Delegations
Doina Basca, Stefan Sorin

7. Departmental Advisers

Elsa Anca, Ion Antoniu, Dorin Anton, Simion Avram, Ion Bourceanu, Marian Buca, Ioan Ciubreag, Gheorghe Comanescu, Mihai Culea, Gheorghe Chiper, Augustin Dobreanu, Stelian Dragomir, Mihai Grigoriu, Felicia Haica, Teodora Hudita, Andrei Iacovescu, Minodora Ilie, Gheorghe Jurebie, Mircea Lupan, Achim Maria, Mihail Mihai, Gavril Molnar, Andrian Nicoara, Ion Popeaca, Ioana Popescu, Mariana Raducanescu, Florin Radulescu, Mircea Savu, Mircea Simon, Paul Schuster, Dumitru Secara, Ion Serban, Dumitru Suvagau, Iosif Ton, Valentin Turcanu.

8. Foreign Advisers

Mircea Aldea, Alexandru Bratu, Mihai Chira, Gheorghe Chiser, Lucia Coman Niculescu, Nicolae Evolceanu, Cristian Fulger, Constaantin Ghica, Emil Ghilezan, Colette Grosu, Liviu Hagea, Dan Hanut, Alexandru Herlea, Dumitru Ionescu, Cicerone Ionitoiu, Vasile Macarescu, Corneliu Petrasievici, Toma Popescu Iosif, Dorin Reichel, George Lambru Rosescu, George Serdici, Elena Stanescu, Ion Stere, Ion Varlam, Cornel Veltianu, Aurel Vlad.

PNT-cd Honorary Members

Nicolae Adamescu, Nestor Badea, Anton Crihan, Nicolae Carandino, Tudorita Danielescu, Dan Hanut, Alexandru Herlea, Dumitru Ionescu, Aurel Dedarescu, Mihai Tarita, Ion Teodorescu, Florica Tuduri, Aurel Vlad, Constantin Visoianu, Ion Zagan.

Social, Party Structures Reported Unchanged

AU1209123990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 8 Sep 90 p 3

[E. Mihaescu article: "Romania Under Iliescu's Regime—The Dwarfish Fence"]

[Text] Social structures have not changed, just people here and there. Even the structure of the party is unchanged; the replacement of the name Romanian Communist Party does not mean a great deal. The nomenklatura has not been deposed. Its economic basis exists now as it did last year, and its political and moral foundation has not been affected by the change. Moreover, the relaxation it has been granted by the "higher"

power guarantees it even broader room for maneuvers and organization to the detriment of social and national interests. The civil Prosecutor's Office—this sacred institution of justice in any state of law—has not been reorganized on democratic bases. The police (militia) has not been rid of its ideology and its professionalism as a body of public order in a state of law has not been improved. The Army has not been organized on democratic bases and the body set up by it in this sense—Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army—has been dissolved in an abusive way. The practices of Byzantine courts employed by the former communist regime have not been removed from the highest—the presidential—level and this exerts a profoundly negative influence on national and international public opinion. The Securitate has not been broken up—today the secret police continues to work to the detriment of our citizens and its principles of activity are still of a political nature. The most important and penetrative mass media institution—Romanian television—has not been pulled out from under the influence of the party-state, a fact that has turned into a big national and international scandal because of its immorality. Romania's representation elements have not been reorganized—beginning with the embassies and going all the way up to customs and tourism. No measures of substance have been taken for workers and farmers...

In exchange, one kind of totalitarianism has been replaced by another, a sullen leader by a smiling one, and one team by another. Furthermore, everywhere the same persecution, the same means of downright oppression, the same impudence among officials, and the same defiance for decency and basic values. Just the fence is a tiny little bit more painted. A dwarfish fence, however, which might be crushed by some meteorological phenomenon.

Group Protests Nonobservance of Human Rights

AU1209073390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Sep 90 p 2

["Protest of the Independent Group for Democracy"—capitalized words as published]

[Text] The observance of human rights has been, and continues to be, ignored in Romania.

Under the pretext of the legality offered by former communist laws, the rights and freedoms stipulated in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights are flagrantly violated and violations of the supporters of the former regime, who are still holding decisionmaking positions, are permitted.

We protest against the way in which the bodies of the Prosecutor's Office have made use of the opportunities offered by the Penal Code procedures to deprive Marian Munteanu, Nica Leon, Andrei Apostol, representatives of the opposition, as well as numerous people arrested on 18 February and 13 June, of their freedom by detaining them to this date without any judicial body establishing their guilt.

We protest against Toader Steica's detention and view this as a measure designed to intimidate the struggle against the former and current communist structures.

The fact that Romania has embarked on the road of democracy cannot be established only on the basis of declarations made by the current leaders of our country, but has to be proved on the basis of facts.

We protest against the lack of interest in the laws regarding human rights on the part of the Parliament, Government, and the country's president.

We believe that it is necessary to URGENTLY modify some legal provisions on the citizen's rights and equality under the law, so as to ensure the observance of the international conventions signed by Romania.

For this purpose, we are for a DRAFT AMENDMENT OF THE PENAL CODE which is to be submitted to the Parliament for endorsement.

Independent Group for Democracy

Vatra Romaneasca Head on Goals of Organization

AU1009130490 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Helmut Opletal report; statements by Petru Olariu of Vatra Romaneasca organization in Romanian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] Vatra Romaneasca—Romanian Hearth—is the name of a Romanian nationalist organization which, over the past few months, has repeatedly been accused of being behind the nationalist unrest in Romania. The organization has repeatedly been called fascist or neo-Stalinist. The current president of Vatra Romaneasca, Petru Olariu, a physician and university professor, is considered to be a moderate. At the moment he is on a trip through various European states, trying to burnish the image of his organization. He introduces Vatra Romaneasca as a nonpartisan cultural organization of ethnic Romanians—as an organization with six to eight million members—which advocates reconciliation between the various nationalities in the country.

Therefore, Professor Olariu brought two representatives of the German minority to his press conference in Vienna today. However, first Professor Olariu distances himself from some radical statements by Vatra Romaneasca, including a manifesto which became known in April and was extremely hostile to minorities and which he calls a forgery.

[Begin Olariu recording] This is the most annoying issue for me. I can give you my word of honor that it is my intention to establish peace in Romania. In addition to the theft of the stamp of Vatra Romaneasca, however,

false statements were made in the name of this organization. Furthermore, these statements were published by Western newspapers. [end recording]

Today Professor Olariu advocated a dialogue and reconciliation between the ethnic groups. He came out in favor of new Romanian laws on minorities, which are to ensure the minorities' rights in schools and in culture. He also called for immediate measures to stop the current emigration of the ethnic German population from Transylvania and the Banat region. Professor Olariu also wants to cooperate with the Hungarians in Romania, even though this is more difficult than with the Germans, he says.

[Begin Olariu recording] We have to overcome the traces of history and make joint efforts to see what we can do for the future. The first contradiction between the two nationalities is history, which either side interprets in its own way. A new history must be written, starting with 22 December 1989. [end recording]

In Tirgu Mures, the town where bloody street battles between Hungarians and Romanians took place in March, the organizations of the Hungarians and of the Vatra Romaneasca are currently working together. Since the start of this cooperation there have in fact not been any major clashes.

This was a report on a press conference on the situation of the nationalities in Romania.

* Political Parties on Recent Demonstrations

90P20114A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 29 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Article by Corina Dragotescu, S. P. Achim: "University Square as Seen by the Political Parties"]

[Text] At the request of our editors, some of the new political parties have presented their opinions on the demonstrations which took place a week ago in the center of the Capital. Today we are publishing the views of the National Liberal Party, the Republican Party, the Romanian Ecologist Party, the (Independent) Socialist Justice Party and the Labor Party.

National Liberal Party

Radu Campeanu, chairman: "The leadership of the National Liberal Party is informing the public that it has no connection with the recent demonstrations which have been taking place each day in University Square in Bucharest and it expresses its hope that the forces of order will be able to ensure the free flow of traffic in the area, within the limits imposed by law, without violence or brutal oppression. The National Liberal Party does not know who was behind the attempts to create disturbances in Universiuty Square. I believe, however, that in the general situation of dissatisfaction which exists, it is easy to find people to carry out any initiative."

Republican Party

Ion Minzatu, chairman: "It is evident that, so far, no serious political force has claimed responsibility for the actions which took place in University Square. The Republican Party, faithful to its position of balance and moderation, is the least likely suspect. Therefore, a single conclusion presents itself: In the complex situation with which the country is confronted at the present time—in all aspects but especially in regard to the fiery situation which is becoming more and more fiery in Transylvania—well-disguised foreign forces, assisted by equally well-disguised internal factors, have put into play a scenario aimed at deceiving and moving the attention of the authorities and of public opinion to places which have nothing to do with the real intentions of the perpetrators. As a result, I suggest that the competent authorities who know how to seek data and information and have the obligation, by law, to do so, in the name of the unitary national Romanian state, do so rapidly and seriously. They should do so without leaving a moment for those who harass the population of Bucharest and generate decisions and resolutions from the townhall of the capital and cause newspapers, public opinion, government institutions [add tomorrow perhaps, even the Parliament] to ask rather useless questions. I believe that the government of Romania and the Parliament, through their responsible bodies, will not repeat the weaknesses of the recent past and will act with the necessary firmness when diversions which could be very costly appear. We are not surprised that these events in University Square are intensifying as the anniversary of the hated Diktat of Vienna draws near. It is under the slogan of this Diktat that the demonstrators accepted and shouted with conviction that they are defying governmental, presidential, or Parliamentary actions. But in my opinion and in the opinion of people more competent and more informed than I am, they are playing the card of antinational forces."

Romanian Ecologist Party

Lucian Gruia, vice chairman: "We do not know exactly what the University Square demonstrators want, however, we believe that they are aiming at maintaining a state of tension and of sociopolitical insecurity and instability, the only thing which would serve certain interests, perhaps even outside the country. The position of our party is the following: Although we do not have a Constitution yet, we have laws which should be observed; on the basis of these laws, there is a right to have demonstrations, strikes, and meetings, and freedom of speech. The Revolution brought us freedom, but this does not mean anarchy; it means observance of the laws, above all. From this point of view, all demonstrations aiming at destabilization or creating premises for destabilization should be considered to be against society and against the state. Force is always met with force. However, we have the opportunity for parliamentary dialogue and by this means, every type of discontent can be explained and resolved. Also, we must keep in mind the fact that such destabilizing manifestations have

their echo not only in the country but also abroad; in other words, not only do they disturb the peace in an area in the Capital but they also cause economic, political, and moral damage to the country and can have much more serious repercussions later. This is why, from this point of view, we do not approve of such manifestations."

(Independent) Socialist Justice Party

Alexandru Dan Popescu, chairman: "Members and supporters of the (Independent) Socialist Justice Party in Bucharest and the entire country are very indignant and disgusted as a result of the destabilizing events which have been taking place recently in University Square. We believe that this diversionary activity is being staged to distract attention from the really tense moments which exist in the country. One cannot rule out the fact that the destabilizing forces might be directed from outside the country for the purpose of continuing to create an unfavorable impression of Romania in the outside world. There are real dissatisfactions in the country but these are resolved at other levels and by other methods, not by violence and destabilizing activities. At the present time, 'University Square' in the Capital is the shame of the whole country, hovering like a mark of infamy above our desire for the authentic democratization of Romanian society. Since the sad commemoration of the hated Diktat of Vienna, imposed by the fascists on the Romanian people on 30 August 1940 is at hand, we desire now, more than ever, to give evidence of our national unity and to respond only officially to the provocations from abroad. We ask the minister of the interior to respect the word which he gave to the country, to establish order immediately and to maintain it. In these moments, the Romanian people need order and discipline so that they can recover after the difficult trials through which they have passed in recent days. The (Independent) Socialist Justice Party will continue to support all the political forces which will demonstrate that they are working for authentic stability in the country."

Labor Party

Cozea Gheorghe, vice chairman: "The position of the Labor Party , a democratic, centrist party, is the following:

"1. The events currently occurring in University Square are a 'continuation' of the post-Revolutionary actions which have attempted and are attempting a sociopolitical destabilization in Romania for the obvious purpose of leading the country to disaster.

"2. It is an action to camouflage the seriousness of the events which are taking place in Transylvania and diverting the attention of the entire country from these acts of destabilization which can even damage the sovereignty of Romania.

"3.It is an illegal action in light of the results of the 20 May 1990 elections.

"4. We believe that under these conditions, the political leadership, the organs of justice, the government and the press should take the appropriate measures to show the 'transparency' of the actions undertaken so that every Romanian will understand the difficult situation in which the country finds itself and proceed to take the country out of the impasse by unity and work."

Editor's Note: In tomorrow's paper we will publish the views of other political parties, including the Ecologist Movement of Romania, the Agrarian Democratic Party, the Socialist Liberal Party, and the Christian Democratic Union.

* Iliescu Said 'Obsessed' With Fears of Coup

90BA0291C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 23 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by Luca Ioan]

[Text] Mr. Ion Iliescu's predecessor, N. Ceausescu, was not obsessed with coups d'etat. His personal conscience and demons saved him from such a handicap and nightmare. His only bugaboo was the idea of foreign agencies and the threat to the territorial integrity of the country. He never for a moment thought that a revolution might take place in our country but he was quick to grasp—the only thing that he apparently did grasp—that he was overthrown by a conspiracy and a coup d'etat. When we saw the tape of the 25 December "trial" we all made fun of the old man but later we did we agree with him (for the first time!). He had been right on one point: "There has been a coup d'etat." Mr. Ion Iliescu—and anyone looking from outside of our dramas can only admire him—staged the most subtle coup in the world, perhaps in the whole history of the world. A coup d'etat disguised as a revolution and even aided or achieved through a revolution.

So isn't it natural that he himself should fear a coup d'etat? Because what brought Ceausescu down were street demonstrations and occupied squares. This is why any street demonstration, and criticism as a whole, are so repugnant to Mr. Iliescu.

And then there is the law of universal human psychology: Whoever has committed a crime will doubly suffer under the same sort of crime. The assassin will be assassinated ("he who wields the sword will die by the sword"), the thief will be burglarized ("it takes a thief to catch a thief"), and the usurper will be overthrown. You cannot build on a lie, and he who sows the wind will reap the storm. All these are axioms, the expression of presentiments, intuitions, ancient and implacable truths.

Thus, because of a deep unconscious human mechanism generating such fears or incertitudes, Mr. Iliescu risks having to live his life with an ineffable sense of guilt and a nameless fear in his soul. This fear comes to the surface gradually and in various forms: It begins by generating an authoritarian tone, disdain for others, idiosyncrasies, hatred of criticism, and complacency and later it

assumes clear, aggressive, and tendentious outlines quite dramatic for the psyche of the one doomed (by his own conscience).

For the moment, Mr. Iliescu is obsessed by an "attempted coup" that he brandishes everywhere and on every opportunity. Personally, I don't think that this is an excuse or an explanation presented with all the certainty of reason. I think that Mr. Iliescu is the victim of secret inner conflicts and of a guilt complex and that the "attempted coup" and "destabilization" are his intimate, purely personal fears.

In January, when he was asked not to behave like a despot and to lead the country in alliance with all the parties, he shouted, "coup d'etat!" and his "helpers" quickly came to his aid. The same happened in February, April, and even more so in June.

And speaking of the latter; as you remember he understood that the people in University Square were racketeers and whores, not worthy of his time and attention. Nevertheless, during and after the events, he accused those same people of an attempted coup. But were the hunger strikers, the "racketeers, druggies, and whores" capable of staging a coup d'etat? Laughable. Obviously they were not. That's when Mr. Iliescu pulled the ace out of his sleeve, the ace he had long held and even shown to the miners in January: the story of Iron Guardists, swastikas, and weapons. "The Iron Guardists and foreign agencies want to seize power," screamed all the rungs of the hierarchy topped by Mr. Iliescu.

The similarity with Ceausescu concerning the latter aspect of the story was perfect.

And so the circle is closing.

* Call for 'Truth' About December Events

90BA0291B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by Darie Novaceanu]

[Text] Although only in bits and pieces, we are beginning to find out more and more about the events of December 1989, and implicitely about ourselves. Heated and bloody, the Revolution days must be considered not only according to what we saw on television but primarily according to what we saw in the streets and the buildings in which fates were sealed, in hospitals and graves, everywhere, but especially in our own hearts. If we want to understand the truth we must accept it as it is, not as we or anyone else would like it to be. The sin imputed to our newspaper in connection with a statistic and material published in our 10 August issue is false, and we could accept to share it only for what was not said in the material in question. If we did not say so, it was because we have repeated it in almost all our issues: the important is not the number of victims, but death itself and the tragedies that follow in its wake. We did not even for a moment consider darkening the most brilliant and beautiful light of the Revolution, the adolescents and the youth. We could not have done it even if we had wanted to: It was the young people who stood in the streets, in all the streets here and throughout the country, in those days, facing great danger and freezing temperatures. They triumphed over death through their purity. They erected checkpoints everywhere and guarded the television and radio buildings. They primarily, but others too, of all ages, and of course our Army—which was going through one of the toughest tests in its history—evinced discipline, morality, and professionalism and passed the test with flying colors.

The truth, however, if it is to be truth, must be investigated and told to the end. And from what is beginning to be written in the newspapers, we have reason to believe that this will be the case, even if other newspapers will carry imaginary scenarios, too, next to protests. The time has come to aver that in our heroes' bodies are lodged bullets fired by securitate members and terrorists but also by the Army. If we do not accept this, we are fated to step from one lie to another. The time has come to stress that the first hour that announced the Revolution to the country sounded in Timisoara and that it sounded long, for several days in a row, stunning the world but that without the response that came from Bucharest, Sibiu, Cluj, Arad, Tirgu Mures, etc., its echoes, heroically extended over a period of several days, would have died down.

There is more than one question concerning various events. There are still no logical explanations to various occurrences. I believe that two things are essential to make sense of this puzzle: By keeping the entire power in its own hands, the dictatorship lost its most faithful servants and the people were brought to the limit of their patience. That, on the one hand. On the other hand, a military conspiracy (with the participation of others, too) against Ceausescu existed and functioned for several years, with inevitable "lapses," helped by evident and efficient foreign pressure as of last August. There is no reason to hide what is only too well known: Western diplomats, and thus Western governments, contributed considerably to this foreign pressure.

Thus, in December 1989, Ceausescu stood alone both as a country (his country!) and as a politician against the truth that he refused to see: the end. The conspiracy, cautiously progressing, had set the timing of the end for somewhat later (one, at most two months). The spontaneous element, i.e., the popular revolt, the screw tightened to the limit of the impossible, hastened this end, bringing it forward to 22 December when although still alive, he had ceased to exist.

Many versions have been and will continue to be circulated about these events. This issue's interviews with Army General Nicolae Militaru and Professor Silviu Brucan are not one scenario, but a transcript, albeit still partial, of the truth that we are all seeking. We selected them—an intellectual and a career officer—because in

the respective conspiracy they represented the force of intelligence and the intelligence of force. As familiar as to not require any "parallel" biography, Mr. Brucan continues to surprise me with novelties that he metes out carefully and only at the opportune time. For his part, Gen. Nicolae Militaru amazes me with his self-effacement and his respect for all those he managed to gather around him during the many years of "underground" activities. Among other things, I scanned reports by those who followed him during those years, and I see no reason for the modesty behind which he withdraws. As for the "Brucan file," it is as voluminous, and professionally impeccable. Mr. Brucan even feels avowed admiration for those who shadowed him everywhere. I asked both of them if they hadn't been afraid, and they both gave me about the same answer: courage is one way of understanding and mastering one's fear.

My discussion with them was much longer than it appears here, but the missing details do not detract from the whole. I agree that it would have gained from the addition of significant details, scenes replete with lessons, and interesting projects—from shooting noise simulators or helicopter flights guided from the Adamclisi monument, to a submarine that never existed but was planned to kidnap the dictator—and evidently, equally significant ommissions: many of those who belonged to or supported the conspiracy are still silent on their participation. They did not and may still not know each other. For the time being, that is just as well.

* 'Culpability' of Army in December Events Denied

90BA0291D Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 22 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lieutenant-Colonel Ion Moise]

[Text] The Romanian people's great act of courage last December won us enormous and well-deserved prestige throughout the world. The praise heard on all the channels of the mass media filled our hearts with joy and satisfaction, and we viewed that praise as proof of the world's admiration for a nation that rose with heroism, courage, and a spirit of self-sacrifice to topple the totalitarian tyranny and pave its own way toward a new, democratic life in freedom and dignity. The press addressed the world readership using the same warm words about the contribution of the Romanian Army to the success of the revolution and to defending and consolidating it. Except that after a while, this orientation—which was correct from the viewpoint of journalistic moral obligations—was not adopted by the entire press. Recently, some newspapers have begun to advance the idea of the culpability of the Army in various forms. In clear language, it has been asserted black on white that the Army shot at the demonstrators. We cannot tell for sure to what diabolical scenario this kind of statement belongs, but it is not difficult to guess that the accusations are being leveled by those who want to destabilize the country. It is curious, to say the least, that this kind of claim did not concern the press during the heated days of the revolution, in other words, at the time when those things were allegedly happening. It is true that many of the publications that are making this kind of assertion today did not exist at that time. However, why did the foreign journalists (present in Romania in rather large numbers in those days) not report to the world about the alleged participation of the Army in suppressing the demonstrators? The answer is easy: because the Army did not shoot at its own people. If the Army had carried out the demented order of the dictator, the consequences would have been really terrible. Anyone who served in the Armed Forces knows that. Suffice it to mention that just one group of soldiers using machineguns with 30 bullet magazines would have produced 1,500 victims in the few seconds it takes to empty them. But how many people were in the squares of Timisoara, Bucharest, and other cities in those days? And how many armed soldiers and means of warfare (armored personnel carriers and tanks) were waiting to confront the enemy? To get them out into the streets, the soldiers were told that the country was being attacked by foreign armed forces and that Romania was the target of an international plot with Western and Eastern participation.

There were some isolated cases when, not being able to bear the physical aggression and violent provocations of hooligans among the demonstrators, some of the soldiers, brought to the outer limit of psychological endurance, had to respond with fire. In some cases military units were attacked and equipment was set on fire. Any military guard, in any army, is held inviolable. If anyone violates the territory of the objective under its guard and does not respond to warnings, the guard will use its weapons. The courts will shed light on such cases in keeping with the spirit and letter of the law. But a few such isolated cases with their respective circumstances do not entitle anyone to circulate the false idea that the entire Army was guilty. Guilty of what?

Of raising against the dictatorship in its entirety (from simple soldier to the minister of defense), because we don't know of any Romanian soldier that defended Ceausescu?

Of losing 139 officers and 134 troops, and having almost 700 soldiers wounded, some of them seriously and some very seriously?

Of living in conditions of protracted alert to defend the revolution and foil any counterrevolutionary actions, and so that the country could resume a normal socioeconomic life? Of turning down any foreign military intervention and assuming the entire responsibility for liquidating the terrorists that were sowing panic and terror among the people? Of taking measures to preclude any possible foreign aggression, thereby remaining faithful to its primary mission, defending Romania's independence and integrity?

If only for these few reasons, the Army bears no guilt. What is paradoxical is that lately some newspapers have

also advanced the absurd idea that the same "culpable" army, which "participated in the genocide," etc., is preparing to seize power! Who could stand to gain from such empty assertions (assuming that any tired or inattentive reader took them seriously)? These are apparently two ideas of different inspiration. Neither of which serves the national interests, but entirely different, unavowed interests.

Attempts are made to plant and nurture a feeling that the Army was culpable (sometimes in combination with the idea of the so-called culpability of a large part of the population) for the purpose of rendering it ineffective and immobilized against extremist and destabilizing actions, and possibly even against a foreign enemy. Attempts are made to sow discord and suspicion between the army and the other democratically formed state institutions elected by the people.

The means used clearly and unmistakably recall the modus operandi of a fifth column.

Rest assured, gentlemen, the Romanian Army does not feel any guilt toward the people to whom it belongs, just as it never did throughout our troubled history. The Romanian Army has resumed its natural activities and, faithful to the values of the December Revolution, is training to defend the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Romania, obeying the decisions of the country's legal bodies: the government, the Parliament, and the office of the presidency. This is what the Army views as its role as one of the basic institutions of the Romanian state and as the guarantor of democracy on Romanian soil.

Lawyers Protest Police Officers' Behavior

AU1209105790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/9/1990—The Lawyers' Free Union of Romania protested "against the flagrant infringement of the right to defense and against police officers' behavior, especially of the Police General Inspectorate and the Prosecutor' bodies, towards the lawyers giving legal assistance to the persons arrested during and after the June 13-15 events now subject to criminal investigation."

Under the circumstances, says the protest, "our activity being limited to a mere formality, we reserve our right to resort to any form of protest allowed by our organization's status".

The protest is signed by the Steering Committee of the Union consisting of such senior lawyers as: Nicolae Cerveni, dean of the lawyers' body in Bucharest, Theodor Nicolau, M. Moldoveanu and Paul Varzaru.

* Aspects of 13-15 June Events Still Unclear

90BA0294B Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 23 Aug 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Senator Ion Soleanu and Senator Simion Tatu by Virgil Mihailovici; place and date not given—first paragraph is TINERETUL LIBER introduction]

[Text] More than two months have passed since the dramatic events of 13-15 June but the physical and emotional wounds suffered have not yet healed. The fear of a repeat performance is still with us. Although the Senate and the House of Deputies are in recess, the investigations continue. However, there is not much to report. Why? Our interlocutor, Senator Ion Soleanu (Iasi), deputy chairman of the parliamentary commission in charge of the investigation, tries to explain:

[Soleanu] The commission is working in accordance with certain norms unanimously adopted on the basis of the statute of the two houses of Parliament, as well as some specific norms. The commission is made up of 23 members—eight senators and 15 deputies—who represent all the political groups in Parliament. Although it was formed immediately after the events, on the 18th, the commission actually began its work on 1 July because organizational measures had to be taken first. The investigation consisted of perusing the reports received from the major state bodies involved in the events: the Ministry of the Interior, Bucharest Police, SRI [not further expanded], The Ministry of Education (the University and the School of Architecture), and reports from political associations. Then came the hearings. First in plenum with the officials who were at the time in charge of those bodies, then with the minister of national defense, representing the Army, which was deeply involved in the events.

[Mihailovici] How? Because, as we know, the Army took a long time to react...

[Soleanu] That phenomenon, meaning the Army's failure to intervene, is in a way understandable. For two reasons: One, the Army had not been instructed to use means of coercion and as soon as the demonstrators realized that, they began to destroy equipment and even to attack them...

[Mihailovici] So if it didn't have orders, it should have let itself be attacked?

[Soleanu] It couldn't act.

[Mihailovici] OK, it couldn't act, but not even defend itself?

[Tatu] I think that the Army was prompted by some psychological factors. However, remember first of all how demoralized the police was during the revolution. When they saw that those who intervened to restore order in the country were seized and questioned, they preferred to be beaten up than to intervene. And the Army intervened late. All the tapes show that.

[Mihailovici] So whose fault was it? Those who didn't issue orders to intervene?

[Tatu] There were no orders to fire even in the air. I personally think that those who incited the people were guilty, the young people who set buildings on fire. We have been empowered to identify the causes and determine who was responsible for what, the rest is the job of other bodies.

[Mihailovici] Mr. Deputy Chairman, how many have been questioned so far?

[Soleanu] Aside from those questioned before the plenum of the commission, with the exception of those questioned in Harghita where we have seven files, and those who will be questioned in Tirgu Jiu, about 300 people.

[Mihailovici] What is your conclusion from what you have found out so far?

[Soleanu] We may have come to a conclusion but we are not entitled to state it!

[Mihailovici] Who is?

[Soleanu] The rules of procedure we established do not allow us to reveal the stage of the investigation until the findings are submitted to the Parliament.

[Mihailovici] In that case, we are only inflaming the people even more...

[Soleanu] Nowhere in the world are the findings of an investigation revealed in stages.

[Mihailovici] How many victims died in those events?

[Soleanu] The Prosecutor's Office identified six persons and there were about 60 wounded.

[Mihailovici] Nevertheless, I don't understand why we cannot publicize the findings of the investigation to date since the verdict will be decided by the court, not by me!

[Soleanu] It's true that you may not have any influence but somebody else may. What is clear is that the events were organized by certain forces.

[Mihailovici] And who was behind those forces?

[Soleanu] That is the the great question that we are also asking ourselves. We are now beginning to understand why the police was incapable of defending its own buildings and why the Army was ineffective. However, as I told you, it is premature to anticipate.

[Mihailovici] When is the investigation in the Jiu Valley due to begin?

[Soleanu] It will probably end by the end of September. Then we will study the documents of the Prosecutor's Office and the police concerning those arrested, i.e., concerning approximately 180 persons, less those who were released in the meantime.

[Mihailovici] Let's assume that minors will be found guilty. What sentence do you think will be given them?

[Soleanu] We don't know, because our commission can only make suggestions.

[Mihailovici] There are a number of persons guilty for the 12th, and others for 14-15 June...

[Soleanu] While pursuing the truth, we hope to find solutions so that such events should never recur.

[Tatu] I want to state that on the basis of our suggestions, the Senate must work out legislative proposals whereby, aside from the sentences envisaged in our Penal Code, another measure and one half should be added to the sentence pronounced on international offenders who come here to destablize our country.

[Mihailovici] What impression did the people questioned make on you during the hearings? Did they seem to be frightened, to have learned their lesson?

[Tatu] Some of them, poor souls, came for the purpose of saving their country and they ask us what to do to bring peace among people. This is a special psychology, in which the Romanian people can no longer escape this national terror. Through the centuries the Romanian people suffered many difficulties and subjugations but not even the fear of the Turks was comparable to what has been happening here after the revolution: The chaos, which still reigns, the disorder, and the bedlam. Anybody in the street was able to seize the television station and say whatever they wanted and the great mistake of the television station was that it allowed that and let them speak in the name of the people!

[Soleanu] Judging by the hearings to date, there is no question of fear. The state factors and bodies were clear, they had a clear picture of the events in their mind, especially since they had experienced them. Others, the majority, told us what we already knew but we cannot deny that some people did tell us things we didn't know and steered us toward very useful venues...

[Mihailovici] On which we will report more details in a future issue, as well as details from the hearings in the Jiu Valley.

Kosovo Assembly Inaugurates New Constitution

LD1309094890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0848 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 13 Sep (TANJUG)—It was announced in Pristina today that delegates of the Kosovo Assembly—disbanded by the Assembly of Serbia last July—have inaugurated the "Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo." At the same time they adopted a constitutional law on promulgating the new constitution and extended the mandate of the Kosovo Assembly, its Executive Council, and administrative bodies until new elections.

According to the relevant "documents," this was all done at a secret session on 7 September somewhere in Kosovo in the presence of 111 delegates, which in addition to Albanian delegates also included delegates of Turkish and Muslim nationality.

The Assembly of Serbia disbanded the Kosovo Assembly on 5 July after Albanian delegates adopted—in the street outside the Assembly building—a constitutional declaration insisting on Kosovo being an independent entity in a future Yugoslav (con)federation.

Rugova on Kosovo Democratic Alliance's Platform

AU1209072190 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, by Nenad Novakovic in Pristina on 6 September: "Confederation With the Albanians"]

[Excerpt] Pristina, 6 Sep—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [LDK] has registered without any difficulty with the federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration under federal laws and regulations, said Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of this largest party of the Albanians in Kosovo, to OSLOBODJENJE in his first interview since the LDK's registration.

"We are the first registered party in Kosovo. We will again demand, and will persist in demanding, that Kosovo should have its own law on parties, because we have the right to this under the Constitution, which we would then observe."

[Novakovic] What kind of elections do you favor?

[Rugova] We demand elections in Kosovo following a Kosovo electoral law. If there are no Kosovo elections, we now think that we will not take part in the elections in Serbia. In a situation of the present kind, our participation in the elections in Serbia would bring us nothing more than what we already have, about 15 delegates in the Serbian Assembly. If elections were made possible in Kosovo, the situation would be different and we would take part in all subsequent elections.

[Novakovic] What needs to be done to secure this?

[Rugova] First, the suspended Kosovo Assembly must begin work, preparing and ratifying these acts. Only then would the legal and judicial preconditions be created for further democratization and work in Kosovo.

[Novakovic] You yourself have said that you would be helpless with a small number of delegates in the Serbian Assembly. Have you majoritarianism in mind? What would you do in order to prevent this majoritarianism in Kosovo?

[Rugova] If we come to power, we will give every guarantee to our other fellow citizens, not only in words but in practice. We will not allow others to undergo what we ourselves have suffered and are suffering. Nobody should lose anything, but will only gain, but not to the detriment of others. We will give, I repeat, every guarantee for this. We now have a division between the people and citizens, like between people and dogs, and this is frightful.

[Novakovic] What is now your primary task following the LDK's official registration?

[Rugova] We must first consolidate the LDK, because it is the largest party in Kosovo, and possibly even beyond. We must organize free elections in the alliance. We must then, but at the same time, prepare for elections in Kosovo, and possibly in Serbia and Yugoslavia. An important task is how to consolidate ourselves financially and find accommodation. We have all so far been volunteers, and in the future we must organize ourselves in this respect. We will proceed to a regular membership, with the donations and voluntary contributions of citizens which the positive legal regulations permit us.

[Novakovic] Does any kind of possibility of dialogue at present exist?

[Rugova] There is little chance of dialogue now, although we continue to insist on it as the only solution and way out of this crisis. After all, this is the European option. We want a dialogue without prior conditions, and in the course of discussion will be able to come to an agreement on everything.

[Novakovic] Does this mean that it might even come to a "softening" of some of your standpoints hitherto?

[Rugova] In discussion, we will search for the best solution to everything, and we may expect and look for concessions on both sides.

[Novakovic] What kind of Yugoslavia would you now favor?

[Rugova] We stand somewhere between a federation and a confederation. I am personally in favor of a confederation with the Albanians...?

[Novakovic] What is your position in relation to the police and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]?

[Rugova] It would be normal for us to have our militia also. The JNA should and must democratize itself. Soldiers from Kosovo should be able to serve in Kosovo, because we have many more reasons for this than others. You know about the numerous deaths of soldiers from Kosovo. The JNA has a significant presence in Kosovo. Perhaps this was once even a psychological relief for people, but it is now a nightmare because there is a "secret marriage" with the police, which is not a good thing. [passage omitted]

Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Formally Registered

LD1109124490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—It was officially confirmed to a TANJUG journalist today in the Federal Secretariat for Justice that the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK] has been registered on the basis of the law on the association of citizens into associations and social and political organizations which are set up on the territory of the SFRY.

The decision on registration in the register of political organizations was adoped on 4 September, and was sent today to the DSK in Pristina. This delay, as well as the delay in informing the public that this party is rergistered, is explained by Svetozar Zecar, deputy federal secretary for justice, by the "delicacy" of the case and "by the need for additional consultations" with the republican organs of Serbia. It is, in fact, well-known that the DSK failed to submit an application for registration to the republican Secretariat for Justice in keeping with the republican law on political organization, and that it is intimating that it will not do this either, since it does not recognize either this law or the authority of the republic.

The DSK, according to Zecar, has fulfilled all the legally envisaged conditions for registration. However, if it takes action to destroy the integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia, the Federal Secretariat for Justice has the legal authority to impose a ban on its work, through a final decision in the event of the launching of a (?legal) dispute is adopted by the federal court.

Opposition Groups Hold Belgrade Protest Meeting

AU1209153390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] As we reported at the beginning of the program, a protest meeting is being held by the associated Serbian opposition in Belgrade's Republic Square in Belgrade. Our reporter Radovan Pantovic has an on-the-spot report:

[Pantovic] The meeting by six parties of the associated Serbian opposition has been going on for about 15 minutes. It began with the old Serbian anthem, God of Justice, and is continuing according to the announced scenario.

Leaders of the opposition parties have been speaking from an improvised rostrum in front of the monument to Prince Mihajlo, and Veljko Guberina, leader of the Radical Party, Milan Komnenic, from the Serbian Renewal Movement, and Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party, have already spoken.

They repeated the already announced demands of the associated opposition groups calling for the election campaign to last at least three months, for all electoral bodies to be made up of all parties, and for two hours to be provided on television every day for parties to present themselves. Apart from this, they repeated the well-known accusations against the authorities and particularly against the Socialist Party of Serbia.

We are committed to saving the nation and (?opposing the aggression of one party): We are glad that the opposition parties have united, Veljko Guberina said. Milan Komnenic stressed that the opposition does not want to lead Serbs into war and (?death) but is committed to freedom and democracy. Dragoljub Micunovic stressed that the opposition only wants an honorable agreement to be reached at a negotiating table and nothing more.

The banners that can be seen include the messages: We want free elections; They have been cheating us for too long, it is time for the truth; Serbs are not communists; We think with our heads and we will boycott fake elections; The people are for democracy. However, one can also see the message: We want the king, as well as similar ones.

The staging is also usual for such meetings with the symbols of the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Democratic Party, and the Radical Party being the most ubiquitous. There are many old Serbian flags, pictures of Vuk Karadzic, Njegos, and Serbian warlords from World War I.

The meeting is well organized and there have been no incidents. There is the occasional drop of rain but participants are still arriving.

More Than 20,000 Rally

LD1209203590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—A meeting of the united opposition in Belgrade gathered more than 20,000 people in Republic Square today. In the square, decorated with Serbian tricolors, pictures of Serbian kings, Karadjordje, generals from World War I, and Draza Mihailovic, "Boze Pravde" was performed, which was commented on as being the first free performance of the Serbian national anthem for many years; leaders of opposition parties called for democratic elections and criticized official government, which, according to them, refuses to accept such a thing.

This was stated by the first speaker, leader of the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka]

Veljko Guberina, who stated that the republican Executive Council accepted some of opposition parties' demands, but only because it was forced to do so because of the activities of opposition parties. Unless everything being called for in connection with elections is accepted, opposition parties will not take part in the elections, thus enabling the government to boast of its democratic orientation in front of the world, Guberina said.

Communists, who promised legal safety to everybody in Kosovo, cannot be trusted, because they made possible the activities of Khomeyni's degenerates in Novi Pazar; these people wish to break up Serbia, Guberina stressed, and concluded that the next meeting of opposition parties will be held at the same place.

Milan Komnenic from the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove] stressed that democracy, justice, and freedom for Serbia are the main principles of the opposition parties. He stated that the submitted draft constitution and electoral law represent an utter illusion. Privileges granted by the constitution to a certain person cannot be granted to a monarch, Komnenic said, stressing that democratic parties do not wish to steer people toward bloodshed and fratricide, but only call for democracy.

Instead of a dialogue with the opposition, official authorities in Serbia went for an experiment and proclaimed the Socialist Party a ruling party even before its formation, said Dragoljub Micunovic, chairman of the Democratic Party, in a speech frequently interrupted by enthusiastic cheering. He stressed that the Serbian opposition is prepared both for a dialogue with the authorities and for seeking joint solutions. However, if all roads to dialogue remained closed, the opposition will continue to organize protest meetings, announced Micunovic. Serbia is not just the past but also the future, and its future is the country's progress. If the opportunity arises for the people to elect their own representatives, the first thing to do will be to find a way of overcoming the crisis, added Micunovic.

The speech by Zarko Gavrilovic, chairman of the St. Sava's Party, was also received with approval. He stressed that "Serbia needs free elections in order to restore its freedom from 1918," and also that "in this way it would rid itself from old Bolshevist ideas and views which have been overcome in the world."

Serbia needs democracy so that first of all it can free itself from myths, corruption, and immorality, Gavrilovic went on, but when he spoke about the tyrrany of power, mentioning the Flower House [Tito memorial center], he was interrupted by whistling.

Chairman of the Democratic Forum Leon Koen stressed that the meeting was organized to return to the people their inalienable right to decide their own fate because, in his words, communists have used all available means to deprive them of this right. Now that these times are over, they are using all available means in order to remain in power by cheating in the elections. Koen noted that free elections are not in the interest of the parties but a basic need of the Serbian people. [passage omitted]

Chairman of the Liberal Party Predrag Vuletic stressed that a government is needed which can be controlled, replaced, and responsible and that the people can no longer be faced with a choice between socialism or nothing. We had to cover 1,400 km (to Frankfurt), said Vuletic, to meet Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic.

The assembled people began to shout slogans "We want the king," to which vuletic replied that he personally is for the king, and announced that the opposition is going to request a referendum on the return of the dynasty.

In the words of Milos Pesic of the People's Radical Party, "We can hope for better times only if the Serbian people are united under our king." Do not let communists rule the Serbian people ever again, added Pesic, to which the people started shouting "red bandits."

After Pesic, the leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement Vuk Draskovic took the floor amid an enthusiastic greeting. He started off with a statement that nowadays nobody in Europe boasts of his democracy as Serbian socialists do, and nowhere, as in Serbia, is democracy exposed to such a beating. Recalling that "socialists are preparing a [word indistinct] Lenin and Tito-style constitution," Draskovic said that the president of Republic is granted the power of an absolutist monarch, because they are convinced that the communist candidate will win in the forthcoming elections and thus by his unlimited power a possible victory of the opposition will be rendered absurd. [passage omitted]

After that Kosta Cavoski presented an open letter of the unified Sebian democratic opposition to Slobodan Milosevic, calling it the last attempt to thwart yet another trick, as he put it, and to ensure honorable and honest elections.

This was followed by "Mars na Drinu" [Serbian patriotic song from World War I] which marked the conclusion of the official scenario of the meeting. Prior to the meeting, citizens received leaflets titled "Time for Honest Elections" which read "For autumn elections '90, neocommunists are offering a tested Bolshevik model from 1945, widely known as 'Blind Box' [Corava Kutija]."

Slogans and placards which prevailed at the meeting (predominantly signed by the "Serbian Renaissance Movement", were: "For Serbia's dignity and people's will", "People side with democrats", "For Serbia's resurrection", "We want the king", "We do not want Bulgarian elections", "Serbian Assembly is not the people's", "We do want democracy - we do not want communism", and "Do not be deceived by communist machinations."

This protest meeting, as well as the previous one which was held on 13 June, ended with an attempt on the part of Vojislav Seselj and his followers from the unregistered party, Serbian Chetnik Movement, to join the meeting

by force. Security bodies of the meeting, which were provided by the opposition parties themselves, formed a cordon in an attempt to prevent Seselj and his followers from approaching the platform, which was followed by shouts of "Beat them." Afterwards the electricity was switched off, and only then did Seselj manage to reach the platform. After a few Chetnik songs and serveral "Seselj's slogans," the hubbub calmed down and the "Chetniks" dispersed.

Serbian Opposition Criticizes Election Proposals

LD1209175890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—In connection with your statement of 4 September this year we should like to inform you that the proposals to change the draft electoral laws you submitted to the Serbian Assembly are unsatisfactory and that they amount to pulling wool over the Serbian opposition's eyes. This is stressed in the open letter which the combined Serbian democratic opposition has sent from the meeting today to the president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

We have asked, says the letter, that the electoral campaign should last at least three months, while you are offering a one-month to three-month time scale, which means that you can decide later that the campaign will last no more than 30 days.

The combined opposition has also rejected the proposal that electoral committees, which are one-party in terms of their composition, will be subject to some form of supervision while there will be no control of any kind over the electoral commissions. The letter also criticizes Milosevic for "wanting to turn Belgrade Television and the 'Politika' publishing house into his own personal propaganda agency".

Our message to you, the letter says, is that the only way leading to first truly free multiparty elections in Serbia is to have a working agreement between the representatives of the government and the opposition presided over by you as the nominal head of state because we no longer have the intention of talking to second-rank politicians incapable of making a single independent move. During this joint meeting all the necessary conditions could be established without which free, honest, and regular elections are an impossibility. Appropriate institutional guarantees could also be established making sure that the attained agreement will in fact be respected.

It would also be necessary to attain agreement whereby all new laws on administration, courts of law, prosecution departments, and the constitutional court will not be passed by the existing assembly but by the newly elected multiparty national assembly after the elections, says the letter, which also contains the warning that the deadline for a positive reply is 10 days. Otherwise, the combined Serbian opposition says, in conclusion, that you will have to go to the election on your own.

Milosevic's New Attitude Said More Moderate

AU1309092990 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[Dragan Djuric commentary: "Milosevic's Turnabout"]

[Text] Are we, at a time when the moment is approaching for a new agreement on Yugoslavia, witnessing a Copernican turnabout in Serbian official policy? Or was the latest speech by Slobodan Milosevic with its essentially changed political rhetoric only a momentary tactical foray?

Whatever it was, Milosevic—speaking on Friday [7 September] at the opening of the Pirot hydroelectric power plant—set off at least verbally towards the waters of a more moderate policy, for the first time since the Serbian Communists eighth session. He put emphasis for the first time on the economic problems and development of Serbia, garnishing his comments with statements like: "We cannot blame the Slovenes and the Croats for our huge economic difficulties, for lack of work, or for false investments, nor will we manage, by searching through history to find a culprit other then ourselves alone, to open a single new work place...." or "this exaggerated orientation to the past is tying peoples' hands regarding the future." On the way, he rapped the knuckles of his own press with the assessment: "Our media and publishers are overly occupied with events and persons from the recent and distant past."

Therefore, at a moment when in line with this statement, this could even be followed by Milosevic's renunciation of the favors of previous chief and publicly compromised magi of the Serbian media, it is obvious that it has been assessed in his headquarters that a different card should be played in the preelection campaign—the card of more moderate politics. This is also shown by the more conciliatory stand with regard to the future structure of Yugoslavia which Bogdan Trifunovic, vice president of the Socialist Party of Serbia, revealed in an interview to VECERNJE NOVOSTI. He announced on this occasion that, indeed, "a federal Yugoslavia is the fundamental political orientation for Serbia," but did add that "it is not the only possible one." Moreover, according to Trifunovic, the proposed new constitution of Serbia has even been prepared "with consideration of another possible option—Serbia as an independent state."

Where, however, should one seek reasons for this deviation from Milosevic's previous political rhetoric? Is it only in the fact that it has been assessed that in haggling over national symbolism, the new-borne Socialists do not stand a chance in a clash with the Serbian opposition? Most probably not. To judge by everything, it has been realized that the previous aggressive policy is not succeeding in the international environment. This is because, a continuation of this policy could only lead to the complete isolation of Serbia both in the Yugoslav and the international context. Under these conditions,

its room for maneuver would be restricted and reduced only to drastic solutions, with the inevitability of interethnic conflicts.

However, the question is: Can official Serbian policy with its new packaging—in a situation in which the Serbian Government has left itself open to new criticism from the international public with the expulsion of four members of the International Commission for Human Rights—improve the previous image of one of the last bastions of Bolshevism in Europe? Hardly. After all, the new rhetoric could indicate two things. On the one hand, the Socialist Party of Serbia is endeavoring to win over the moderate section of the Serbian electorate, as well as the intelligentsia and, on the other, it wants to impose itself at a Yugoslav green table as a future negotiator on the restructuring of Yugoslavia.

Serb Parties Hold Meeting With Prince in FRG

AU1309080590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 90 p 1

[Gradisa Katic report: "United: Authority, Prince, and Opposition"]

[Text] Frankfurt—One of the most important political gatherings of pluralist Serbia was organized in Frankfurt City Hall last Saturday [8 September]. The representatives of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, six opposition parties from Serbia, and one Serbian party each from, Croatia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina were all sitting at the same table. His Highness Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic was sitting in "front" of the leaders of these parties. The presenter also announced the representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community, as guests. This reporter confirms that they were indeed present there.

After a journey of over 1,400 km, the following people found themselves at the same table: Aleksandar Stefanovic from the still unregistered Serbian Chetnik Movement; next to him was Academician Milos Macura from the Socialist Party of Serbia; then Velibor Ostojic from the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Dr. Novak Kilibarda from the People's Party of Montenegro; Dr. Jovan Raskovic from the Serbian Democratic Party; His Highness Prince Tomislav; presenter Radomir Smiljanic; Dragoljub Micunovic from the Democratic Party; Milenko Radic from the People's Radical Party; Predrag Vuletic from the Liberal Party of Valjevo; Dr. Zarko Gavrilovic from the Serbian St. Sava Party; and Mirko Jovic from the Serbian National Renewal.

The roundtable discussion was also attended by numerous guests; academicians Veselin Djuretic and Antonije Isakovic; Dragan Dragojlovic, republican secretary for relations with religious communities; Miodrag Zec, consul of the SFRY; Djordje Ilic, president of the Serbian Cultural Forum from Switzerland; numerous guests from Germany; and Father Lavrentije who blessed the gathering.

The participants in the discussion sent a petition to the government of the Republic of Serbia "for the attention" of Slobodan Milosevic. The most important demands of this petition are that the ban on the return of all members of the Karadjordjevic family to the country be lifted and that the earthly remains of all the members of that family be brought back and reburied in Oplenac; that the ban on the return of all pro-monarch members of the Yugoslav army who were captured during the war and barred from entering the country, be also lifted; that all other Serbs and members of other nationalities who have been barred from entering the country for political reasons be allowed to return; that a commission consisting of the representatives of all parties be set up to ensure political legitimacy in Serbia and examine all cases involving the confiscation of property from the so-called enemies of the people since the war (from Dedinje to Kosovo), and that this property be returned to their owners or their heirs, or reimbursement paid.

The petition also demands that all secret archives in Serbia and Yugoslavia be opened, and that all secret decisions made during the secret meetings of our top state and political organs be made public; that the House of Flowers in Belgrade be closed and the remains of Josip Broz moved to Kumrovec; that the cult of Josip Broz be stopped by removing his picture from all public places and institutions in Serbia, in a civilized and democratic way. The petition also demands that during the elections campaign for democratic elections in Serbia all parties be allowed to register and have access to all Serbian media, under the same conditions as the Socialist Party of Serbia.

Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic was greeted with a frenetic applause. The 62-year old prince first raised his arms, clenched his fists, gave the thumbs up, and then showed a victory sign. The applause went on forever. The prince then proceeded toward the rostrum, first very slowly, and then changed his pace and almost run up the steps, and drinking a toast of Serbian plumb brandy said:

"Your excellency, reverend fathers, brothers and sisters, I am happy to be among you fighters for freedom and democracy. I am particularly happy because I was one of the first victims of Tito's regime, which lacked freedom, the regime which you are fighting today. I am the only member of the Karadjordjevic dynasty who has not taken up foreign citizenship. I kept my Yugoslav passport, which prohibits me from returning to the country. I have tried on several occasions, via the Belgrade press, to persuade the authorities to annul the laws or decrees which prohibit me from returning to Yugoslavia. I hope that in a few months' time, maybe even before, I will receive Serbian citizenship and that I will be able to throw this passport away. You know that I am fighting for your culture and that I also know that Tito's regime tried to break our culture and our tradition. I am fighting for the return of our culture to our people in Serbia, especially in Oplenac.

"I must also say," the prince continued, "that I do not interfere in political problems, but must, as a member of the Karadjordjevic family, know what these problems are.

"I do not belong to any political party, in Yugoslavia, outside it, or in Serbia. I do not have any pretensions to power in Serbia. However, if the people of Serbia want me to return, I will. I was born in Belgrade, I will return to Belgrade, and I will die there," Prince Tomislav Karadjordjevic stressed.

The leaders of Serbian parties had ten minutes each to present the programs of their parties (in alphabetical order).

One should also mention that another brilliant person during the five-hour program, in addition to the prince, was Dr. Jovan Raskovic, who "stopped Tudjman's personnel carriers with his own body and the body of the people."

Milos Macura, who represented the Socialist Party of Serbia, had considerable problems at the beginning of his speech: he was booed by some people in the hall. However, when he mentioned the name of Slobodan Milosevic, he was greeted with a spontaneous applause.

The participants in the roundtable discussion presented many theses about the future of Serbia and Yugoslavia, ranging from that of an independent Serbia, a federation with Montenegro, to the survival within a federal Yugoslavia. The audience applauded and booed. However, it looked as if Serbia has never been closer to political democracy. Somebody said: "This is the most legitimate Serbian government."

The meeting ended by everybody in the hall, including the speakers, holding hands raised in the air and singing the St. Sava anthem.

Cost of Serbian Politics Said Too Expensive

AU1209200390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Politics More Expensive Than Fires"]

[Text] How is it possible that all Serbian parties, including the Socialist Party of Serbia, registered on the same day but only this one, the ruling one, enjoys all possible privileges—ranging from access to the media to inheritance of the property of the previous two political organizations from which it emerged—while the other parties start with nothing?

While representatives of the opposition parties have been pointing out this injustice, Milenko Radic, lawyer of the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka], has gone a step further by demanding that the republican Social Accounting Service freeze the drawing accounts of the former Socialist Alliance of Working People and the League of Communists in Belgrade and confiscate their resources. He has calculated that politics by itself costs Serbia more money than all our fires which occasionally devastate half of the Primorje coastal region.

To prove this, Radic converted the figures of the Social Accounting Service into U.S. dollars so that, according to him, it can be seen that (according to the exchange rate at that time) all of Yugoslavia this year earmarked around $4 million for putting out fires, while in Serbia alone, $4,452,067 was allocated to sociopolitical organizations from the budget (of which $1,139,833 was for the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia and $464,790 for the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Belgrade). Moreover, $1,199,723 was allocated for financing Belgrade's political organizations and around $163,166 for financing the Stari Grad commune (of which $64,166 was for the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People alone).

Chances of Cosic Becoming Serb President Viewed

AU1209152290 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 90 p 3

[Zoran Daskalovic commentary: "Cosic"]

[Text] Dobrica Cosic, the revered and today probably leading Serbian writer and intellectual, was awarded the Yugoslav literary award "Njegos Prize" for his trilogy "Evil Times." Even without the prize, Cosic is an outstanding creative personality, above all in the Serbian cultural arena but beyond it as well. Moreover, during the past several years, Cosic has been playing a more than influential political role on the Serbian, as well as Yugoslav, political scene. For some time already, conditions have been favorable for Cosic to become a Serbian Havel, with all the inevitable differences. Whether this will happen or not depends primarily on his willingness and his plans.

Therefore, initiatives by certain Serbian opposition circles for Cosic to run for president of Serbia are not at all surprising. If there is anybody who can be an equal rival to Slobodan Milosevic in the upcoming Serbian elections, Cosic is certainly one of the few people to have some convincing chances. Whether this initiative will be realized will primarily depend on whether Cosic will decide to compete with his political creation—Slobodan Milosevic. However, the two do not have to compete in the elections. Since their political closeness is not insignificant, there are considerable possibilities for an agreement being reached and for Milosevic taking a different political position to the one he has today.

The advantages of dethroning Milosevic and of promoting Dobrica Cosic to become the head of Serbia have been becoming more important for Serbia and Serbian policy by the day, both for internal Serbian relations and—even more—for the international political public. Because he became a leader within the Serbian communist organization, even after his recent "socialist" transformation, Slobodan Milosevic cannot get rid of the aura

of being one of the last figures of Bolshevist totalitarianism. He is seen as being such by both the opposition in Serbia and even more by the world democratic public. The political activity that he symbolizes is more and more subject to criticism and condemnation and the Serbian policy has been brought to a dead end and isolation from which it can hardly get out if it continues to be carried out under his leadership. On the other hand, Dobrica Cosic, although he is a member of the Serbian left, has gone through many years of literary and political anti-Bolshevik activity, enjoys the reputation of a fighter for human rights and the freedom of thought and deeds, and was a political dissident for many years—which is a considerable advantage in the times of the abandonment of the former system. Like Milosevic, he is considered to be an uncompromised fighter for Serbian national interests. In fact, he is one of the founders of the Serbian national program which has been thought out in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. After all, he was expelled from politics as early as in 1968 for voicing his views about the Serbian national interests in Kosovo. Moreover, Cosic would today have more room for maneuver in order to find more appropriate solutions to the Kosovo problem. His recent refusal to answer a journalist's question concerning his solution to the Serbian Kosovo nightmare is indicative.

Considering his explanation that the times and political mood are not right for making his vision public, one can conclude that his solutions, if he has any, are more democratic than the present ones. In these times of new Yugoslav agreements, Cosic would probably be a more acceptable political interlocutor to the other South Slav national politicians, although—being democratically oriented—he is a difficult political partner who cannot be easily ignored. For if he is honest in advocating the establishment of a democratic Serbian state, he would have to use democratic political means within the Yugoslav political relations as well. Moreover, being a nonparty personality, he has influence over almost all Serbian parties and, as a statesman, he would be able to exert a beneficial influence and calm down the political extremisms which are pushing the Serbian and other peoples into new conflicts.

SDS' Raskovic Lauds Milosevic in Open Letter

AU1109152590 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 90 p 7

["Letter from Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia"; place and date not given: "Many Lies Are Being Told About You"; first paragraph is DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, sent an open letter to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, following an article in SLOBODNI TJEDNIK. In his letter Academician Raskovic writes:

"Respected Comrade Milosevic,

"At these times which are difficult for me personally, in this uncertain situation, especially for the Serbian people in Croatia, I must explain some of my beliefs to you. My attitude toward you personally has been and remains an attitude of full respect and conviction that you have unequivocally been and remain the most important person in the modern history of the Serbian people. Our Serbian Democratic Party considers you to be its spiritual, moral, and, quite certainly, physical protector.

"Many lies are being told about you. For no particular reason you have been made a Satan in the north-west part of our country. Through no fault of your own, you have become an object of paranoia among a broader spectrum of people in some nations. This is why your ideas, regardless of the social truth, ethics, patriotism, or humanity contained in them, have been received as threats and attacks.

"Many lies have been written about you. Even those who were supposedly loyal to you have lied about you. The most monstrous, the most arrogant, the most unscrupulous, and the most unbalanced lie appeared in SLOBODNI TJEDNIK on 25 August of this year. The most bitter and the crudest accusations against you were attributed to me. I assure you that this alleged soliloquy is a shear lie. Nobody mentioned you during the conversation that evening, including me.

"There is no right way to fight against lies. It is much easier to fight against truth. All those who use lies know this very well. The paper which published this lie accused me in some of its previous issues of being a murderer saying that I, as a 14-year old youngster, 'killed an Ustasha with a knife.' The latest issue is also full of old and new lies about me. Out of all the lies written about me by SLOBODNI TJEDNIK, by this Serb-thirsty, Ustasha-leaning, heedless, and trashy paper, by this paper that is full of stinking garbage and the most disgusting lies, I was most disturbed and upset by the fabrications that I have allegedly said about you.

"Had it not been you, Mr. President, it would have not even occurred to me to mention what this paper of well-known orientations and lies has written.

"Finally, I would like to assure you that I am one of those people—of whom there are many—who regard you as a paradigm of everything Serbian. It is an honor to tread the same path with you and fight for the establishment of a complete Serbian national entity. You belong to Sumadija as much as you belong to Krajina, to the Serbs living in Hercegovina, Lika, Banija, Kordun, Dalmatia, and other places.

"Please accept my sincere and profound devotion to you and everything you are doing for the benefit of the entire Serbian nation.

Academician Jovan Raskovic"

Serb TU Assesses Kosovo's 'Economic Collapse'

AU1209192690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Economic Collapse"]

[Text] According to (un)official estimates, around 120,000 Albanians from 600 work organizations, administrative organs, and particularly important services participated in the Kosovar general workers' strike in Kosovo on 3 September. The agency of the Serbian Trade Union Council responsible for Kosovo and presidents of the communal Trade Union Councils in Kosovo announced yesterday that after the well-known events, demonstrations, the political strike, sabotage, idleness, and the formation of parallel administration organs at the demand of the separatists, many work collectives in Kosovo have been experiencing economic collapse.

Consistent implementation of and respect for the laws and constitutions of Serbia and Yugoslavia was also sought, as well as the expulsion of intermediaries from factory circles who conduct the dishonorable and political games.

The agency of the Serbian Trade Union Council for Kosovo and the majority of participants in yesterday's debate in Pristina stated that the demands which have been "coming from many collectives in Kosovo to recall Riza Sapundziju, member of the SFRY Presidency, and Nazmi Mustafa, member of the Federal Executive Council," were justified because "not one of their actions has contributed to resolving the crisis situation in Kosovo."

Serb Council Endorses Results of Croatian Talks

LD1209132990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Knin, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The Serb National Council [Srpsko Nacionalno Vjece] has endorsed the results of the 10 September talks between its representatives and a delegation from the government and the Assembly of the Croat Republic. Dr. Milan Babic, chairman of the Serb National Council and president of the Knin Municipal Assembly, told journalists this tonight. At the same time he rejected speculation implicit in some statements by the Croat leadership about conflict and disagreement within the Serb National Council and the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka].

During a live broadcast on Knin radio, Dr. Babic made it clear that he was appealing to the Knin population to hand back the weapons illegally obtained in the public security station in Knin, when confidence in the institutions of the system in the republic has been restored. The return of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs to Knin and a reduction in the concentration of militia forces in the neighborhood of Knin are among the essential elements of this confidence, he said. [passage omitted]

Croatian Communists View Proposed Referendum

LD1209170890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1359 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes (LCC-PDC) [SKH-SDP] and its press conference here today assessed that President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Borisav Jovic—who, in his last night's interview on Belgrade TV, announced a referendum on the country's fate—strove for opening the options for democratic solutions to the state crisis.

Former communists from the Republic of Croatia, however, found unacceptable the idea saying that only the federal state determines the principle and mode of self-determination and said that self determination belongs to people.

Jovic's statement about the communes' declaring themselves to which of the states (republics) they would belong in case of the country's confederated system, represents for the LCC-PDC a dangerous theses on the possibility of changing internal borders in Yugoslavia.

The LCC-PDC reiterated its commitment to a democratic federation based on the authentic sovereignty of the republics with guarantees of their full equality.

Degoricija Views Results of Donji Lapac Talks

LD1109215690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Talks last night in Donji Lapac between delegations of Knin and Donji Lapac municipalities, on one side, and representatives of the Republic of Croatia, on the other, marked the beginning of a dialogue and indicated the possibility of resolving problems through negotiations and in a peaceful way. The talks, however, were not with representatives of the Serbian National Council as reported by some sections of the media, Slavko Degoricija, president of the Croat Assembly's Chamber of Municipalities, said at a news conference today.

A statement from last night's talks—handed out to journalists today—says the following took part in the talks: Josip Boljkovac, Croat internal affairs minister; Slavko Degoricija, president of the Croat Assembly Chamber of Municipalities; Stjepan Pecevski, an undersecretary in the Croat Internal Affairs Ministry; Milan Babic, president of the Knin Municipal Assembly; David Rastovic, president of the Donji Lapac Municipal Assembly; Milan Djukic and Nikica Sasic, president and secretary respectively of the Donji Lapac Executive Council; and Dusan Vjestica, representative of the Knin Municipal Assembly. The talks took part at the initiative of Jerko Vukas, president of the Sinj Municipal Assembly.

As stressed in the statement, the sides agreed on the points of departure for defusing and resolving tensions.

It was agreed that all problems, both political and economic, should be tackled and resolved by competent institutions. Political issues will be dealt with through interparty discussions.

Both delegations call for reserve-force arms to be surrendered to the Knin police station and are in favor of postponing the day and the hour when the arms should be handed in.

The Internal Affairs Ministry has promised to set in motion an initiative in the Croat Assembly to reinstate the municipal Internal Affairs Secretariat in Knin.

Slavko Degoricija stressed at the news conference that the course of the talks was fair and that they lasted for eight hours. He also said several hundred people who had gathered in Donji Lapac greeted with applause both the representatives of the two municipalities and of the Republic of Croatia.

52 Serbs, Muslims Detained in Foca Uprising

LD1209171190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Foca, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—Representatives of the security service informed journalists at a regular press conference today that during yesterday's conflict between Serbian and Montenegrin citizens with police in Foca, 52 persons were detained; 43 of them are Serbs, and nine are Muslims, who, however, did not take part in the forbidden meeting, but possessed offensive weapons.

Last night and today passed without any incidents in Foca.

Muslim Party Protests Violence

LD1209170390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1405 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Sarajevo, September 12 (TANJUG)—The Muslim 'Party of Democratic Action (SDA)', recently formed in Bosnia-Herzegovina capital Sarajevo, is to lodge a protest with the Republic of Serbia authorities because of the violence over Muslims in the southern parts of Serbia, a region with predominantly Serbian and Muslim population, Alija Izetbegovic, SDA president told a press conference on Wednesday [12 September].

Last Saturday, police used tear gas to disperse an SDA rally in Novi Pazar, a town in southern Serbia, which coincided with a rally held by the nationalistic Serbian Renewal Movement because of the danger of ethnic clashes. Police arrested several Muslims.

Foca Chief Magistrate Suspended, Replaced

LD1209201390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Summary] Foca, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—The Republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration of Bosnia-Hercegovina today suspended Sacir Smajkan from the post of chief magistrate in Foca and appointed Rajko Colovic in his place.

Slovenia Postpones Visit by Austria's Haider

AU1209071890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 90 p 3

["D.D."-signed report: "Possibilities for Talks Reduced"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Immediately after the announcement that the visit by Dr. Joze Mencinger, vice president of the Executive Council of Slovenia, to Austria and the visit by Joerg Haider, governor of the Austrian province of Carinthia, to Slovenia had been changed, Dr. Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Executive Council, himself announced that Haider's visit to Slovenia had been postponed. The reason for the postponement of the visit were the stands of the Carinthian governor regarding the issues of a dual-language school in Klagenfurt and a dual-language commercial college in the same town.

After the postponement of the visit, Lojze Peterle, head of the Slovene Government, made the following public statement:

As is well known, Haider, governor of the province of Carinthia, was due to visit Ljubljana on 6 September. This would have initiated formal contacts between the new Slovene Government and the Carinthian provincial government. We were looking forward to this visit because we were convinced that it would have contributed to speeding up the establishment of relations between the states of Slovenia and Carinthia and cooperation would have acquired a new quality.

New facts appeared yesterday which raised a secondary issue for our meeting with provincial governor Haider. That is to say, he announced at a news conference in Klagenfurt that he rejected the decision by federal minister Hawlicek on setting up a dual-language commercial college in Klagenfurt, which would, in his opinion, be at variance with the law, Peterle said, and added:

The Slovene Government assesses that the consequence of such a stand would lead to a change in circumstances regarding his visit to Slovenia, so the government has decided to propose another date for this meeting. I think that his stand reduces the possibilities for talks and also brings into question the good will that has been expressed in principle regarding the structure of relations in Carinthia in the interest of the Slovene national community. We will carefully monitor the development of this issue in the Austrian province of Carinthia, and

we have sent a letter to the state governor in which we have expressed our surprise at these stands and proposed that his visit be postponed until after 10 October.

Montenegrin SAWP Unhappy With Draft Legislation

LD1209043990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The draft of the law on the election and recall of committee members and deputies in Montenegro is so confused, irrational, and bad—and, according to some views, so dangerous—that it should be thrown out and fundamentally new solutions established. Amendments to the current text would simply not be adequate.

These assessments, made during the session today of the Presidium of the Republican Committee of the Montenegrin Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], have placed the proposer of the bill, the republican Executive Council, in an extremely unfavorable situation, to put it at its mildest. The Executive Council has been planning to come out with the final text of the law as early as this September, so that it can be approved by the Assembly by the end of the month. This schedule would have provided an excellent opportunity for first multiparty elections to be held in Montenegro at the end of the year. However, if the draft of the aforementioned law really has to be substantially worked on, the question arises as to whether the deadlines laid down earlier can in fact be complied with.

However, judging by the way the proposed text of the law was spoken of today, it would be better to shift the deadlines rather than face the adverse consequences of the proposed legal solutions. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Socialists Blame Unrest on Communists

LD1209045290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Titograd, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—We believe that the ruling party carries a direct responsibility for the economic, political, and intra-national destabilization in Montenegro. On behalf of the new development philosophy it has again deceived the citizens of this republic, says the statement issued today by the main committee of the Party of Socialists of Montenegro [Partija Socijalista Crne Gore].

Montenegro today resembles a battlefield. Religious banners, the markings of Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism, double-headed eagles, skulls and crossbones, and crowns have been unfurled, says the statement. For this reason the Party of Socialists appeals to all citizens of Montenegro and Yugoslavia to say no to national socialism and civil war, and in so doing to make possible a peaceful and dignified life for themselves and their families and for all citizens of our country.

It is high time the destinies of Montenegro and Yugoslavia were decided by common sense. This is the time for an agreement and for implementation of the changes in our economic and political system, concludes the statement by the leadership of the Party of Socialists.

Equality Party Statement on Muslim Nationalism

LD1209050990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Titograd, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—The Party for Equality [Stranka Ravnopravnosti—SR] which operates in this republic, and whose members are predominantly Muslims, today issued a statement in connection with a recent rally in Rozaji, at which the Party of Democratic Action from Bosnia-Hercegovina [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] had the main say, and a rally in Pavino Polje which was organized by leaders of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO] and the People's Party [Narodna Stranka—NS] from Montenegro. The statement asks the question: according to whose orders are these parties allowed to act in this Republic, and should this Republic allow an extremist Muslim nationalism to flourish. Recalling that every kind of extremism is alien to it, and particularly denying a right of the SDA from Bosnia-Hercegovina to speak on behalf of Muslims from Montenegro, the SR stresses that Muslims in Montenegro are not completely satisfied with their status.

Whether the SR will succeed in organizing Muslims in Montenegro to fight for a better Montenegro much depends, the statement goes on to say, on the policy of Montenegrin political bodies. Statements by some party leaders in Montenegro that Muslims and Montenegrins are invented nations—and specially a statement by Montenegrin Presidency President Branko Kostic that both nations were invented after World War II—are a big insult and a failure, the statement concludes.

Montenegrin Democratic Party Decides To Split

LD1209162390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Titograd, 12 September (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party [Demokratska Partija], which was the first party formed in Montenegro and which in a way was the precursor of subsequent party organization in that republic, no longer exists. What happened was that this party's meeting last night decided that, because of irreconcilable conflicts within the party, its registration should lapse and that the party should split into two parts. One group of its present members will try to revive the Democratic party, while the others will form a new party.

Judging by the way the meeting started, it appeared that the conflict which has been rocking the party for some time now and which first arose over the issue of Montenegrin statehood and the existence or nonexistence of the Montenegrin nation would be overcome, especially since the meeting approved a report on the party work so

far and passed a vote of confidence in chairman Slobodan Vujosevic. However, it turned out that the conflicts and the disagreements were so great and the factions so irreconcilable that it was impossible to proceed with the normal work of the party. The outcome was that the decision to split the party into two and let the recently acquired registration lapse appeared to be the only possible solution.

'United Opposition' Emerges in Vojvodina

AU1109112990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 90 p 4

[B. Lazukic and S. Stojanovic report: "Socialists Are Getting 'United Opposition'"]

[Excerpt] Novi Sad—After the promotion of the "Pan-National Democratic Front of Vojvodina [Svenacionalni Demokratski Front Vojvodine] last Monday [3 September], one could say that in four days' time the Socialist Party of Serbia has practically gained one more "united opposition" in Vojvodina.

As we have already informed you, last Friday there was a founding assembly of the Democratic Forum for Vojvodina [Demokratski Forum za Vojvodinu] which will, as announced, try to persuade individuals, groups, associations, political parties, and alliances to jointly work on surmounting the social and political crisis in the interest of the citizens of Vojvodina, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. Last Monday, Zika Berisavljevic and Istvan Tot, who insisted that they were "authorized members of the Initiative Committee and not the leaders of the party," promoted the new "united opposition"—the Pan-National Democratic Front for Vojvodina. In contrast to the Democratic Forum for Vojvodina, the Pan-national Democratic Front of Vojvodina permits collective as well as individual membership.

Humiliated Province

"This will be an authentic Vojvodina party and a fierce opposition party, but not the only one. This party will, together with other democratic forces in Vojvodina, try to find a way out of the general socioeconomic crisis as quickly and successfully as possible. It will be a party that will rise above the national and nationalistic options that are now present throughout the country, and even Vojvodina. Our aim is to resolutely defend the dignity and entirety of Vojvodina within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Second, we will strive for federalism in Yugoslavia and for Vojvodina's historic place in it, the place which Vojvodina itself won, the place that was not given to it, the place that nobody has the right to deprive it of or to disparage. We clearly stress that Yugoslavia has always been the principle for reaching accords or agreements and that it can only survive as such—otherwise there will be no Yugoslavia. The thing that is the most dangerous for Yugoslavia is a dictate, wherever and whoever it may come from. We will be the party of the left democratic orientation and will be ready to cooperate, in the form of coalition or alliance, with the Democratic Forum for Vojvodina and the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia"—this was stated by Zika Berisavljevic. He also said that the Pan-National Democratic Forum of Vojvodina is against both "tank" and "yogurt" unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia, because this kind of unity lasts only until "yogurt goes bad" and "tanks get tired." As regards "the party in power in Serbia," he said that it is "a phony left-oriented party and an essentially right-wing and nationalist party." He also said that the right solution will not be found in Yugoslavia "without abandoning the concept of the memorandum matrix." [passage omitted]

LC Declaration on Macedonian Ethnic Relations

LD1209171390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1425 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Skopje, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—The central committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation adopted on Wednesday [12 September] a declaration on inter-ethnic relations in this republic, asking the citizens of Macedonia to refrain from nationalist conflicts and divisions.

This southern Yugoslav republic is largely populated with Macedonians but ethnic Albanians make up about 25 percent of the population. Turks, Serbs, Romanies and others also live here. Parties acting from nationalist platforms have sprung up in the republic of late, among which the Party for Democratic Prosperity, gathering ethnic-Albanians, and the Macedonian nationalist parties MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action] and VMRO [Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity].

An efficacious and democratic legal state, which the transformed Macedonian Communist Party advocates in the declaration, should guarantee all civil and national rights to the members of all nationalities in Macedonia.

The Communists will struggle against parallel ethnic-based educational and informative systems in the republic, says the declaration.

Markovic Talks With Kucan, Peterle in Ljubljana

AU1109171590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Yugoslavia's days as a federal state are already numbered in Slovenia and it is being claimed that its survival is only possible as a confederation. Relja Atanasijevic reports from Ljubljana:

[Begin Atanasijevic recording] Lojze Peterle, head of the Slovene government, last night formulated the confederal future of Yugoslavia in a specific way. He said that he would rather speak about a federation than a confederation. However, he added, as it is now, Yugoslavia's days are numbered.

According to Peterle, the Slovene Government is preparing a confederal agreement and the discussions on its elements which are being held behind closed doors have

not yet come to an end. Croatia is preparing a similar document, which is also being drafted by a small number of people.

Even though the documents in both republics are a well-guarded secret, they represent a search for a possible solution for Yugoslavia, whose problems, according to the unofficial views and assessments of primarily state political circles, cannot be resolved in a constitutional fashion. Peterle therefore stressed that the present Yugoslavia cannot be put on a firm footing in a constitutional way. At least the political leaderships of all republics are aware of this. This fact cannot even be changed by today's visit to Slovenia by Ante Markovic even though he remains yet another possible negotiating partner from the present state leadership, Peterle concluded.

The talks that Ante Markovic and his colleagues had today with first Milan Kucan and then the republican prime minister and his associates were conducted behind closed doors. Journalists were informed that Markovic and Peterle would organize a brief news conference, which was however canceled. Just as happens in such cases, everything was reduced to a communique which will be submitted to the media during the course of the afternoon.

I have been unofficially informed that the talks dealt with the memorandum which the Slovene Government sent to the Federal Executive Council, economic policy, constitutional amendments, and on how to find a way out of the present crisis.

Ante Markovic and his colleagues are to visit Maribor this afternoon. They have been invited by local representatives so that they can become acquainted with the very serious situation in this town's economy.

Markovic Speaks With Maribor Businessmen, Leaders

LD1209141190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Maribor, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [SIV] accompanied by his aides this evening spent over three hours in talks with representatives of the government and businessmen of Maribor and the region of Prekomurje. Markovic was met with complaints about numerous problems but also with genuine congratulations directed at him personally and at the government for succeeding "almost totally to eradicate inflation and to make the dinar a world currency. It is to the government's credit that at the moment Yugoslavia's foreign currency reserves are larger than ever before and that our borders are open to all forms of traffic in people and goods." At the same time, Yugoslavia's external debt has been reduced thus enabling enterprises to join world financial trends. [passage omitted]

SIV President Ante Markovic said that problems confronting our country reflected the nature of our society and of our economy and of all that over the years had been done on the basis of an ideology and a policy which had proven to be inefficient and inadequate for resolving problems. Markovic said that he had no illusions that changes were possible by merely putting cosmetic touches on the system as it was. What was needed was a completely new system based on a number of economic laws and on command economy but with much more democracy. Major changes of this kind require a long period of time. At the beginning of my mandate I said that we would need at least five years to carry out these changes, Markovic stressed. The events have shown that I was right.

Ante Markovic went on to warn that in addition to a whole series of positive results the implementation of reforms had also resulted in secondary negative consequences which were impossible to avoid.

Markovic lists the convertibility of the dinar, reduced inflation, foreign currency reserves, and the liberalization of prices and exports as being among the most positive results. We have liberalized 92 percent of prices, 90 percent of exports, Yugoslavia's external debt has been reduced to 16 billion dollars, our foreign currency reserves exceed 10 billion dollars and at the same time we are owed 4 billion dollars. This year Yugoslavia is expected to realize foreign currency earnings to the tune of 30 billion dollars which is three times as much as three years ago. Only just over 15 percent of our overall foreign currency earnings is earmarked for repaying foreign debt. This provides us with the scope for entering new financial arrangements with abroad.

All this is a prerequisite for introducing completely new economic terms in the country. The danger now is that we might go back to the old set-up. If we fail to resolve the issue of ownership, we have done nothing. What we have done so far is merely a simulation of new ownership relations and an attempt to establish money, goods and labor market.

The structure of our society cannot be changed without changing the ownership structure. Markovic expressed surprise that his hosts never raised the issue of how to carry out the process of restructuring the ownership set up in enterprises which, according to him, is one of the most important tasks. He was critical about the resistance to the introduction of shares of workers. Markovic said that the government had proposed a very liberal law on wages which will at the same time impose certain restrictions and safeguard accumulation. The system under which a part of increased personal income would be paid in the form of shares has quite a specific role to play. We are now being accused of having transferred the burden of the reform on the workers, Markovic said, and went on to note that the introduction of shares would prevent the creation of secret funds in enterprises and would ensure that it is in workers' interests to work properly. In this way conditions will be created for changing the ownership structure faster and for introducing new organizational set up of managing and controlling enterprises.

New realistic sources of money must be searched for—Ante Markovic said in response to the critical remarks of Maribor businessmen. In his view the most important achievement is that the National Bank of Yugoslavia can no longer print money to meet the society's requirements. What would we gain by ordering the National Bank of Yugoslavia to resume its old practices? Who has got the right to make a demand which in fact would mean abandoning the level of inflation which we have at the moment? Markovic thinks that instead of laments about the shortage of money efforts should be made to create it. When I took over the government, he said, I realized that the country could go bankrupt. We, however, could not reconcile ourselves with that. It is not that there is no money today—there is money but not in the right place or in the right function. Those who say that there is no money must give up their positions, Markovic said. According to him, processes must be set in motion in the economy which would help to bring to the fore new people or to give chance to the old ones and those who can "make something out of nothing" and get rid of those who have so far been "making nothing out of something."

Markovic made special reference to Yugoslavia's chances for receiving additional funds from foreign partners. He mentioned the positive outcome of talks with the IMF, the World Bank, the EEC and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. Credits have been promised to finance structural changes.

He said that the federal government had given priority to developing the road network and that there existed realistic opportunities for beginning the construction of the Sentilj-Zagreb road and the Adriatic Highway in addition to the completion of the Brotherhood and Unity Highway.

Ante Markovic said that the recovery of the banks depended to a large extent on the situation in the economy. Back in last December the government had a plan to resolve this problem which unfortunately had failed to be pushed through the Federal Assembly due to political disagreements.

Markovic spoke at length about the difficulties facing Yugoslavia's economy as a result of the crisis in the Gulf which will directly cost Yugoslavia 1.1 billion dollars. The indirect damage is estimated to be as much as 3 billion dollars. Yugoslavia is in the group of the countries which have been most affected by the crisis. According to Markovic this has dealt a direct blow to the reform especially in the light of the damage to the tune of 2 billion dollars from this year's drought. However, neither of these problems will threaten the content and the nature of our reform, he stressed.

Markovic said that Yugoslavia was expecting support from international bodies primarily through increased credit programs which our government recommended to foreign and international institutions and states.

In the course of this evening's talks Zivko Pregl, vice-president of the SIV, and Branko Zekan, the federal finance secretary, announced that the government would this week discuss the situation facing exporters and would adopt measures to alleviate their position. Pregl and Zekan stressed that the government still maintains that the dinar exchange rate should continue to be pegged to the Deutschmark indefinitely and not just until the beginning of the next year since that is an integral part of the reform program.

Franc Horvat, member of the Federal Executive Council, emphasized that the government would continue to pursue the policy of economic openness and liberalization of exports. He went on to say that the level of liberalization in the sphere of exports had never been as high as today.

Secretary Denies Constitution Hinders Referendum

LD1209175490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—The Constitution of Yugoslavia is not an obstacle in the way of organizing a nation-wide referendum to determine the country's fate, Assembly of Yugoslavia Commission for Constitutional Questions Secretary Radovan Sturanovic told TANJUG on Wednesday [12 September].

The Yugoslav Assembly would first have to adopt a special decree, as Presidency of Yugoslavia President Borisav Jovic set out in an interview to the Belgrade Television on Tuesday night.

The referendum would be carried out in each republic. However, it would first have to be cleared up in a democratic debate whether the number of votes would be taken on aggregate for the country as a whole or for each republic individually.

Only after all eligible Yugoslavs voted, could the work on a new Yugoslav constitution begin.

The constitutional commission emphasizes that the Yugoslav presidency is in the near future to propose and elaborate broadly on the initiative for a referendum, after which the initiative would be debated in the Assembly's working bodies, in the constitutional commission, and finally at a session of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber.

The referendum could be one of the ways to remove a constitutional blockade. The outcome of the referendum would be mandatory for the social-political communities, which would have to take into account the stands of their respective population and refrain from obstructing work on a new constitution, the basic reason for finding a way out of the crisis.

1990 Economic Statistics Reviewed; Success Noted

LD1209104790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0902 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Vlasta Ilic report]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is to record an annual inflation rate of roughly 20 percent for 1990, as Federal Secretary for Development Boza Marendic has set out.

Although the figure will be only somewhat slightly higher than predicted at the beginning of the year, the alarm bell has been sounded, since nobody wants to be even reminded of December 1989, when the annual inflation rate had reached 2,666 percent.

Preventitive measures above all imply the cutting down of general and common spending to within the planned frameworks, since the pressures for pay increases, especially in non-economic activities, threaten to undermine what has been achieved so far.

Retail prices were 1.9 percent higher in August than July, while the living costs went up 1.8 percent, as the Federal Statistics Bureau has reported. The increases are only seemingly negligible. The increased demand is pushing up the prices of services and industrial and food products much faster than planned. The prices of services rose 5.8 percent in August, the prices of food products 1.2 and the prices of produce 0.5 percent. The respective prices have been showing a tendency of a faster increase in September, for one thing because a drought has halved the crop. The monthly inflation rate for September is, therefore, expected to reach 3.5 percent, as Deputy Federal Secretary for Trade Branko Maricic has said.

The latest in a series of unfavourable circumstances for the Yugoslav economy has been the gulf crisis, as a result of which further oil deliveries by Iraq, an important economic partner, are uncertain. At the same time, the structure of the Yugoslav economic system is being changed and a multi-party political system introduced amid growing unemployment and strained social problems.

The Yugoslav economy recorded a drop in production in the first half of 1990. It was only in July that production went up four percent compared with the same month of 1989.

The value of the Yugoslav exports for the first eight months of this year stood at nine billion 518 million dollars, or was 16.3 percent higher than for the same period of 1989. The value of the imports, on the other hand, reached 11 billion 400 million dollars, recording an increase of as much as 29.4 percent. Over two billion dollars were spent on imports of consumer goods alone in the specified period, with a view to expanding the assortment of goods and curbing the prices of domestic products. The foreign-currency reserves stood at ten billion 100 million dollars at the end of August, providing a guarantee that fresh foreign credits will be coming.

The federal government, although praised for slashing inflation and maintaining a stable rate of exchange of the national currency, the dinar, has been much criticized for a restrictive monetary policy. The Yugoslav Central Bank, itself, has been a target of criticism for sparingly approving funds to potential investors, although it had a credit balance of 122.7 billion dinars in July, or seven billion over the planned level.

Despite all the difficulties which have been accompanying the change of the economy's structure and of the ownership of the means of production, optimism has been based on the newly created climate for private businesses and the increasingly expanding ties with foreign partners. Over [figure indistinct] productive and export-import private firms were [word indistinct] in Yugoslavia in the first seven months of this year.

Yugoslav firms concluded around 2,250 contracts on joint investments with foreign partners from December, 1989 to August this year. The contracts are to ensure a foreign capital influx of around one billion 700 million West German marks. The orientation is showing a strong tendency of being further intensively pursued.

Reform Alliance Founding Assembly by Month's End

AU1209130390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "One Should Not Be a Slave to Cliches"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—TANJUG has learned from the Operations Headquarters of the Initiative Committee for the Founding of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia on the program of Ante Markovic's government that the founding assembly of this alliance will be held in Belgrade sometime before the end of September.

The meeting of the representatives of initiative committees from all over the country will adopt the statute and a program declaration of the alliance. The founding assembly will not adopt the program which will gradually be improved through joint work. The program will be open to suggestions and will be adapted to the requirements of the time, which is in line with new trends in progressive Western European parties. [passage omitted]

So far, over 400 initiative committees have been founded all over the country. This number is rising all the time, because, as the coordinator in the Operations Headquarters, Mirjana Popovic, explained, new committees are being founded continuously. [passage omitted]

LCY Expected To Become New Socialist Party

AU1209125990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "For a New Party"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—It appears that there is no longer a dilemma—the party taking over from the former League of Communists of Yugoslavia will be called the Yugoslav Socialist Party [Jugoslovenska Socijalisticka Partija—JSP], because the working group of the committee in charge of preparing the congress of a democratic and programmatic renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has decided, after having considered several names, to propose this name to the committee at the next meeting. Predrag Jereminov, vice chairman of the committee, stresses that the draft program and the symbols of the JSP, with which the party will enter election campaign and go to the founding congress scheduled for the middle of October, have recently been decided.

Democratic socialism, federalism, national equality, a market, and a rule-of-law and welfare state will be the main program aims of the party. Jereminov believes that in contrast to the confederalized League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the JSP will be "a real Yugoslav party" which will fight for individual members, but which will also permit collective membership. According to the draft program, the party "originates" from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but emerges as a new party with a new program and new political aims. With the founding of the new party, Jereminov said, "the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is definitively going into history."

Jereminov said that the party intends to participate in the multiparty elections for the federal parliament, as well as in the elections in the republics where they have not been held yet. However, he did not say which parts of the former League of Communists of Yugoslavia the new party is counting on. He also said that he is aware that the new party has slim chances of being joined by the reformed Leagues of Communists of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia—which are more inclined to the also topical idea of the committee to found a Yugoslav leftist alliance. [passage omitted]

CSFR's Dienstier Concludes 3-Day Working Visit

Meets Croat 'External' Minister

LD1109230190 Prague CTK in English 1409 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Croatian Minister for External Relations Zdravko Mrsic agreed in Dubrovnik today on establishing work contacts between the Czech and Slovak Republics on the one hand and the Croatian Republic on the other.

Dienstbier, on an official visit to Yugoslavia since September 9, said that Czechoslovakia would like part of its foreign trade to go through the Yugoslav port of Rijeka, and is ready to take part in the possible opening of a free customs zone, in the construction of a Karlovac-Rijeka motorway and modernization of rail routes linking Yugoslavia with Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The two ministers paid attention also to the inauguration of the Adria oil pipeline having an annual capacity of 4.5 to 5 million tonnes. Czechoslovakia is ready to take part in the possible construction of another oil and gas pipeline from North Africa. These financially demanding projects would be covered either bilaterally or within the pentagonal (associating Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy and Czechoslovakia), or with participation of the western capital.

[Prague CTK in English reported at 1931 GMT on 11 September the end of Jiri Dienstbier's three-day official visit. His departure from Dubrovnik was noted.]